Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest
Faculty of Education and Psychology
PhD School of Education
(Director: Dr Éva Szabolcs, PhD habil.)
PhD Program in Language Pedagogy
(Director: Dr Péter Medgyes, DSc)

Cultural value orientation studies in foreign language education in Hungary

Establishing a Hungarian cultural value orientation profile
for application in foreign language education in Hungary

by

Ildikó Furka

Supervisor: Dr Dorottya Holló, PhD habil.

Members of the Defense Committee:
Dr Péter Medgyes, DSc (Chair)
Dr Uwe Pohl, PhD habil (Referee)
Dr Judit Hidasi, PhD (CSc) habil (Referee)
Dr György Mészáros, PhD (Secretary)
Dr Réka Eszenyi, PhD (Member)
Dr Krisztina Károly, PhD habil (Member)
Dr Judit Sárvári, PhD (Member)

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Abstract

Cultural value orientation studies (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Hofstede, 1980; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998; Hall, 1973 and 1976; etc.) examine how different cultures value different things in life, and how these values result in different patterns of accepted behavior in a society. The present doctoral dissertation focuses on cultural value orientation studies (CVOS) and their results from the perspective of their connection to and possible implications for foreign language education (FLE) in Hungary. The dissertation aims to assist language learners to overcome culturally loaded situations where high linguistic competence does not seem to be enough to repair communication breakdown. It proposes a cultural value orientation profile for Hungary based on triangulating the analysis of the existing literature on CVOS, more than 50 curricula vitae and motivational letters of Hungarian learners of English, and 14 interviews conducted with Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis, and 14 interviews with foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis. The results show that Hungarians tend to accept the unequal distribution of power in the society, have a rather mild individualistic tendency, a not too characteristic tendency towards masculinity, a mild preference for keeping the private and public life separate, a strong tendency towards achievement and high context dependence. In addition, Hungarians seem to strongly favor relationships over rules, accept emotional displays, although they are mostly negative ones, strongly doubt there is opportunity for them to take control and change what is not good for them, and have a medium tendency for long-term orientation. Finally yet importantly, they strongly try to avoid uncertainty, and have a polychronic attitude towards and cyclical view of time. The implications of this doctoral research include raising awareness of possible misunderstandings between cultures with the help of representing cultural profiles in polar diagrams, and pinpointing cultural differences where possible clashes may occur for Hungarian speakers of English. This, in turn, is used to identify ways for Hungarian English language teachers to maintain or even boost the motivation of their learners by adapting foreign language methodology to their needs as future language users and intercultural communicators need to reach beyond their culturally coded learning and communication style. Suggestions for further research are also made along with pedagogical implications.

Keywords: cultural value orientation, language pedagogy, intercultural speaker, genre of curriculum vitae and motivational letters, foreign language methodology

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACH: achievement
ASCR: ascription
C1: home culture, one's own native culture
C2: target culture
COLL: collectivism
CV: curriculum vitae
CVs: curricula vitae
CVO: cultural value orientation
CVOP(s): cultural value orientation profile(s)
CVOS: cultural value orientation studies
DIFF: diffuse
ECDL: European Computer Driving Licence
EFL: English as a foreign language
ESL: English as a second language
ESS: European Social Survey
EXCL: exclusionism
FEM: feminine
FL: foreign language
FLE: foreign language education
FLEXUM: flexumility
FTA(s): Face threatening act(s)
GDP: gross domestic product
GNP: gross national product
HC: high context dependent
IDV: individualism
IF: Foreign Interviewee
IH: Hungarian Interviewee
IND: individualism, individualist
INNER: inner-oriented
IT: Internet technology
L2ID: second language identity
LC: low context dependent
LTO: long-term orientation
MAS: masculine
ML: motivational letter
MDST: Multidimensional Scaling Technique
MONO: monochronic
MONUM: monumentalism
n.d.: no data
NEUTR: neutral
OUTER: outer-oriented
PART: particularism, particularist
PDI: power distance index
POLY: polychronic
Q: question
REST: restraint
SL: second language
SPEC: specific
SSA: smallest space analyses
STO: short-term orientation
TC: target culture
UNIV: universalism, universalist
VSM: Value Survey Model
WHO: World Health Organization
WVS: World Values Survey

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Somewhere near the oasis of El Douz, central Tunisia…

It was about 50 degrees Celsius in the shade, all we could see around was sand and more sand, with a few yellowish stones which signaled that a settlement had been established there in better times, but was gulped down by the hungry mouth of the Sahara Desert. The camel was comfortable, moving in a slow pace, holding up its head elegantly, and probably thinking about how many other tourists it would have to carry that day. The guides, the owners of the camels, were friendly and open to questions about their origins, schooling and their habits, but in a distinctively reserved, even modest way, unlike their brothers in the towns in the coastal hotels. They spoke English fairly well.

As horse people from Hungary who ride quite a lot, we were interested in the camels as well. We know that in Hungary it costs about 1 million HUF (4300 USD) to buy a camel and a special license is required as it counts as a wild animal. So, we asked the guides how many camels they have and how much it costs to buy one. At first they made a joke of saying one camel costs two hundred women, but then when we insisted, they admitted it costs about 1,000-1,300 Tunisian dinars (130000-170000 HUF/560-730 USD). Our reaction was "Wow that is cheap!" The guide remained silent. When we inquired if a horse would be more expensive, he said of course it is more expensive. "And do you have a horse?" we inquired. "No, ma'am, I don't." said the guide quietly. However, something on his face told us not to ask another question again.

A bit later, we realized why we couldn't continue our friendly discussion with our guide. The average income in Tunisia is about 200-300 dinars (26000-39000 HUF/112-167 USD) a month, from which usually ten people have to make ends meet. To own a camel in the desert is not only a lifesaving condition, but it also means a higher status among the inhabitants. By our instinctive outburst of surprise, which stemmed from the fact that our point of reference was the Hungarian economic situation, we forgot to 'go native' and think with a native's mind and prospects. By one simple exclamation, we managed to trample on a man's pride, standard of living, and through that, his values of identity and nationality. He refused to say a word to us again.

1 Introduction

It is 33 years since Hofstede published his influential and paradigm-setting piece of work on the dimensions of cultures that help us understand why there are conflicts, miscommunication and lack of understanding even among people with the best intentions towards each other (Hofstede, 1980). Since then, the world of business has taken the cultural differences approach as its foundation, and inter-, cross-, and multicultural research abounds (Buckley, 2000). These studies, however, do not make a clear distinction between verbal or non-verbal conduct (Földes, 2007), though some researchers do separate oral and written communicative behavior in their analyses of culture (Hall, 1976). As to language pedagogy, it has mostly focused on the relationship of culture and language learning from the perspective of culture shock and the process of acculturation (Brown, 1986), but neglected the influence of cultural values on verbal behavior in English as a foreign language settings (EFL).

The rationale for studying the role and impact of cultural value orientation studies (CVOS) in foreign language education (FLE) in Hungary stems from personal experience of having lived abroad and faced difficulties despite a high level of language knowledge. Secondly, my interest also resulted from the realization that language teacher education has not focused enough on culture education (Lázár, 2006), while Hungarian language teachers of English must take on a huge responsibility in preparing Hungarian workers for the growing number of possibilities for labor migration within the European Union. Passing exams or simply surviving scarce phone calls with foreigners is a thing of the past, and learners need preparation for real-life, face-to-face situations encountered on a daily basis. In fact – among other things – reports of cultural misunderstandings of language learners with a high level of language knowledge led Byram and Fleming (1998) to claim that a new ideal is needed in foreign language instruction instead of the "native speaker" one, that of the "intercultural speaker", who interacts in intercultural situations while maintaining communication despite cultural differences and linguistics limitations. The need for research in this area is further supported by Gibson et al. (2007) whose study shows that successful second language performance is not possible without integrating intercultural skills into foreign language education. Finally, the high number of Hungarians working for multinational companies present in Hungary means FLE in Hungary needs to adjust to the needs of this group of language learners working in a multi-/intercultural[1] environment, making the present research into what changes FLE in Hungary even more relevant.

[1] The terms multinational or international as well as intercultural and multicultural are used interchangeably in this paper. Detailed definition of the terms *multi/inter/and cross-cultural* are provided in the Key terms in section 2.5.

This doctoral dissertation focuses on CVOS from the perspective of their connection with verbal behavior (oral and written) in order to make recommendations on which cultural dimensions and how to include in intercultural competence development in FLE in a Hungarian setting. It aims to demonstrate that the application of the concepts of CVOS and their results in FLE help language learners in a multifaceted manner in as much as the methodology of language instruction can be adapted to the Hungarian cultural values so that learning is made easier for them. Furthermore, second language identity (Brown, 2000) is boosted in an integral way, language learners' past and future experiences related to other cultures are made more comprehensible, which in turn positively influences their attitude towards foreigners and other cultures, which, therefore, ultimately improves and/or maintains their motivation for language learning proper (Holló, 2008). On the other hand, intercultural skills development integrated into FLE with the help of CVOS results in not only higher communicative competence, but also personal development and higher marketability in the labor market.

In order to explore the possibilities of how the results of CVOS may assist the integration of intercultural competence development in foreign language education in Hungary, the following research questions are pursued. As the dissertation follows a qualitative research approach, and as it is an exploratory study, data sources are very diverse. This requires several different methods of data collection and analysis, as well as interpreting the results in answer to the following research questions:

1. What cultural dimensions should be used when establishing the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary?
2. What is the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of the existing foreign and Hungarian research and literature?
3. What is the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of curricula vitae and motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language in higher education?
    - 3.1. What cultural differences should be observed by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English?
    - 3.2. Which cultural dimensions lie beneath some of the difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English?
    - 3.3. How did the input of learning about writing curriculum vitae and motivational letter in English or other languages influence the output of the more than 50 learners of English as a foreign language in practice?

3.4. How can Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language be trained to adjust to the cultural differences of the genre of the curriculum vitae and the motivational letter?

4. What is the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in light of interviews conducted with foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis?
   4.1. What kind of intercultural misunderstandings occur when Hungarians and foreigners work together on a regular basis in Hungary or abroad?
   4.2. What cultural differences need to be observed by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when working with foreigners on a regular basis?
   4.3. Which cultural dimensions lie beneath the misunderstandings between Hungarians and foreigners working together on a regular basis?
   4.4. How can Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language be trained to overcome and solve the misunderstandings that might occur in their communication with foreigners?
5. What is the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary from the data of the literature review, the curriculum vitae and motivational letters, and the interviews?
   5.1. Which dimensions in the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary lie beneath the cultural differences that Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language might encounter when communicating with foreigners in English?
   5.2. Based on the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary, what are the possible points of cultural difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language while learning it?
   5.3. Based on the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary, what are the possible points of cultural difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language while communicating in writing and orally with foreigners?

The dissertation provides a summary of the relevant literature of the dissertation topic, covers the issue of research design and research questions, details the methods of data collection and data analysis together with piloting the instruments that were applied in the research, explains the triangulation procedure which included a document analysis in cultural value orientation studies researching Hungary, an empirical study analyzing more than 50 curricula vitae and motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English rhetorically and culturally, and finally a qualitative study to establish the Hungarian cultural value orientation profile based on interviews with 14 foreigners and 14 Hungarians. Furthermore, the results of the research are discussed, recommendations are made for successful intercultural competence development within the foreign language classroom setting, and the questions of trustworthiness and limitations are addressed.

2 Theoretical background

This chapter provides an overview of the literature serving as the theoretical background for the doctoral research. As the number of the fields of research relevant to the dissertation is daunting, it seemed sensible to narrow it down to the fields of communication, culture, and foreign language education since this dissertation focuses on how the former two are present in the phenomena of intercultural communication, and how the latter can help develop the competencies needed in intercultural situations. Other key terms that are relevant and used in the dissertation are addressed in section 2.5.

2.1 The relationship of behavior and culture, thinking, communication, and the foreign language environment: the foreign language education perspective

Foreign language education is the art of creating an environment for learners where they can develop their skills to communicate in a language other than their mother tongue. Communicating in another language, however, by definition is not only verbal, but nonverbal as well. According to the Oxford Online Dictionary (www.oxforddictionaries.com), *to communicate* is

(1) to share or exchange information, news, or ideas,

(2) to impart or pass on (information, news, or ideas),

(3) to convey or transmit (an emotion or feeling) in a non-verbal way,

(4) succeed in conveying one's ideas or in evoking understanding in others,

(5) (of two people) to be able to share and understand each other's thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, as said by this online dictionary *communication* is social contact, and as such, it takes place between people, not only as being individuals, but also as members of their society and their culture. It creates a web of relations that has a unique way of influencing its members and their behavioral (verbal and nonverbal) patterns. The following sections are to illustrate how this influence materializes and how far-reaching it is. The following literature review serves the starting point for the argument of the doctoral dissertation that the perspective of language teachers has to be broadened to include intercultural competence development in the communicative curriculum of language teaching in the era of English as an International Language (EIL), if they intend to prepare their students to handle the challenges of a globalized world.

2.1.1 The relationship of behavior and culture

The word *culture* originally comes from the Latin verb *colere* which means to cultivate, to foster the growth of something. (Online Webster's Dictionary) Oxford and Anderson (1995, pp.

202-203) give a thorough overview of the development of the term *culture*: In 1948, Herskovits said that culture is the part of the environment which is made by humans. Nida in 1954 claimed that culture is all learned behavior. Cognitive anthropologists claim that culture is how an individual perceives culture itself, and symbolic anthropologists believe it to be a system of symbols and meanings. Brooks in 1968 stated that culture is the role of the individual in situations and the rules and models of attitudes and their conduct in these situations. What is important is "what is one expected to think, believe, wear and eat" (as cited in Oxford and Anderson, p. 203) in certain situations. Scovel identified culture in 1991 with the social building block of all human relationships. Edward Hall (1973) in his influential work claimed culture to be similar to an iceberg: above the surface are customs and habits that everybody can observe, but under the surface, there are the values and thought patterns that govern our interactions in a subconscious way.

Kramsch (1998) connects her definition of culture to speech when she defines it as:

> **1**. Membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and a common system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting. **2.** The discourse community itself. **3.** The system of standards itself. (Kramsch, 1998, p. 127)

Here the discourse community is "a social group that has a broadly agreed set of common public goals and purposes in its use of spoken and written language" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 127).

Finally, Hofstede separates culture into two levels. "Culture one", or small 'c' culture (Hofstede, 1991, p. 5) is a much narrower term and refers to the products a culture creates, for example architecture, literature and works of art. On the other hand, he uses the term "culture two", or big 'C' culture to refer to "the thinking, feeling and acting of a group" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 4). His famous metaphor, culture being the "software of the mind" and human nature the "operating system" presents an illustrative picture of how people operate. He also argues that the personality of an individual uses the learned software of his culture mixed with his/her own mental programs (Hofstede, 1991). This is an important element that Hofstede cautions to remember when talking about individuals or people in general from a certain culture, otherwise talking about culture might "lead to simple cultural determinism" (Parry, 1996, p. 690).

These definitions of *culture* in the fields of research referred to above do not distinguish between the relationship of culture and verbal and non-verbal behavior specifically. Their focus is on human behavior in general. Later on it will be shown how this mixed approach to culture can and what is more, needs to be materialized in foreign language education.

2.1.2 The relationship of behavior, the cognitive processes and schemata: the cognitive element

Behavior is influenced by the social environment and individual cognitive processes, that is, the way we perceive reality, which in turn reflects the way we behave verbally and non-verbally. This is thoroughly discussed by Barbara Rogoff in her book *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive Development in Social Context* (1990), who developed "the concept of guided participation to suggest that both guidance and participation in culturally valued activities are essential to children's apprenticeship in thinking." (Rogoff, 1990, p. 8) She further states that

> Guided participation involves children and their caregivers and companions in the collaborative processes of (1) building bridges from children's present understanding and skills to reach new understanding and skills, and (2) arranging and structuring children's participation in activities, with dynamic resources for guidance - both support and challenge – in assuming increasingly skilled roles in the activities of their community. (Rogoff, 1990, p. 8)

According to her theory, thinking (i.e. the cognitive process) is learning how to treat and solve a problem consistently with local cultural expectations. The purpose of cognitive processes, she says, "is to act effectively; activities are goal directed (tacitly or explicitly), with social and cultural definition of goals and means of handling problems" (Rogoff, 1990, p. 6). Thus, when a person in a completely different cultural environment feels lost and has no familiar surroundings to rely on, his/her cognitive processes are at a loss to guide him/her how to act effectively.

Rogoff believes that guided participation helps the subject internalize the interpersonal processes of the given culture, and she emphasizes the role of non-verbal communication in the whole process. Rogoff's point of view will support the present doctoral dissertation in as much as it also emphasizes the essential part that non-verbal elements of communication play in communication. In fact, according to some studies almost 80% of our communication is non-verbal (Hidasi, 2004, p. 81). The non-verbal elements of communication, however, vary from culture to culture (Tarone and Yule, 1989), for example, managing the timing of interaction, eye contact, or spatial distance while conversing are all different in particular cultures. The variance in non-verbal communication of different cultures might explain why there are so many instances of miscommunication when people from different cultures, though with sufficient linguistic competence, try to communicate their thoughts and ideas. The purpose of the dissertation is to highlight the need to focus more on the non-verbal elements of communication and behavior in foreign language education.

Another concept that has to be looked at when talking about the relationship of behavior and individuals is schema theory. The term 'schema' is fully explained by Howard (1987) who says that it denotes knowledge organized into a certain arrangement. It is a "mental structure that represents some part of some stimulus domain" (Howard, 1987, p. 31). Schemata are abstracted

from experience and help us to understand and deal with reality. As to structure, schemata have slots that can be filled in with stimuli. They are also embedded within each other, as for example the schema of how the face is structured: the schema of face belongs to the schema of the body, but at the same time, it has sub-schemata in the form of eyes, mouth, ears and so on.

Schemata guide our behavior in as much as the mind is programmed to choose a schema for a situation and we will act along the lines of the selected schema. Schemata also provide guidance because there are several types of them for each situation a person may go through. These types of schemata constitute of scene, action, event, person, and stories schemata. Firstly, scene schemata collect information on spatial positions of objects, for example, on what should be in a kitchen, or how things behave due to gravity, etc. Then, event and action schemata refer to our knowledge of eating out, going to the theatre or graduating, all of them with sub-schemata of paying the bill, dressing up, or enrolling into an institution. Thirdly, person schemata help us predict the behavior of other people. By developing person schemata, the human mind can sort different types of people together, which helps it to predict behavior, which in turn makes reality less threatening. Finally, story schemata help us construct different types of stories, such as detective mysteries or love stories.

Problems occur, however, when there is no applicable schema in one's head due to lack of experience, or when there are too few cues as to which schema to choose from the available structures. Schemata also have the characteristic of filtering information according to their own perspective. Since "we can only absorb a limited amount of information and need some way to extract what is most important for our purposes" (Howard, 1987, p. 38), schemata are there to help us in this. They filter the information and let in only the most important details. However, the information is only most important according to the existing schemata. Sometimes schemata filter too well which results in the lack of perceiving reality as it is. Though they help us comprehend the world, they also create blocks for learning new things and submit ourselves to new experiences. Once a schema is formed, it is hard to dislodge it.

The schema structure influences how we see the world and how we behave in it. From early childhood on, the enculturation process, which we go through creates an environment that forms the basis for analyzing later experiences (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005). It becomes a frame of reference for noticing, comprehending, and analyzing events, feelings and people throughout our lives. Since it is human nature to have these schemata guide us, the aim is not to get rid of them, only to draw the attention to their pervasive influence. Raising awareness of the existence of schemata working in our heads and directing our everyday life subconsciously is the first step towards changing reactions and behavior in cultural encounters and misunderstandings. The knowledge of schemata can help language learners to be more confident and motivated in willing

to explore the world and expand their schemata further, and traverse the limitations of their cultural schemata as members of a particular culture, as this flexibility is the most basic requirement for an interculturally competent speaker (Deardorff, 2006).

2.1.3 The relationship of behavior and communication: the verbal element

The previous two sections concentrated on how culture is connected to behavior and how it implements the individual processes of the mind. The present section will describe the communicative perspective of behavior. This is described with the diverse competences considered important for communicating successfully and appropriately.

Communication according to Canale and Swain (1980) is a form of social interaction that is creative and unpredictable. It occurs in discourse and socio-cultural contexts; it always has a purpose and uses authentic language. Successful communication according to Canale (1983, pp. 7-11) requires profound *communicative competence* which consists of:

1. *grammatical competence*, which is the mastery of the language code,
2. *sociolinguistic competence*, that is the extent to which utterances are produced and understood appropriately in different sociolinguistic contexts,
3. *discourse competence*, which is the mastery of how to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres, and
4. *strategic competence*, which is the mastery of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action for two main reasons: a) to compensate for breakdowns or b) enhance the effectiveness of communication. Savignon (2001) agrees with Canale on the above four components of communicative competence, but calls Canale's sociolinguistic competence *socio-cultural* instead, claiming that it "requires an understanding of the social context in which language is used: the roles of the participants, the information they share, and the function of the interaction" (Savignon 2001, p. 18). Richards and Sukwiwat (1987) furthermore focus on *conversational competence*, in which they include the issues of face-saving, politeness, power dimensions, conversational routines and language transfer. Van Ek (1986) suggests that successful communication (and foreign language learning) requires six competences. His list starts with *linguistic competence* that involves knowing the vocabulary of a foreign language and certain structural rules that are necessary for forming sentences. Secondly, *socio-linguistic competence* ensures that utterances are employed with situational appropriateness. Thirdly, he talks about *discourse competence* being responsible for identifying and producing coherent utterances and communication patterns. Fourth is *strategic competence* originally introduced by Canale and Swain in their influential work (1980), which ensures overcoming communication breakdowns due to insufficient knowledge of (foreign) language code, or other reasons. Van Ek puts *socio-*

cultural competence as the next important aspect of successful communication. This competence is a "reference frame which is at least partly determined by the socio-cultural context in which that language is used by native speakers" (Van Ek, 1986, p. 31). Finally, the last element needed for successful communication according to Van Ek is that of *social competence*. This refers to skills that allow the speaker to exercise empathy and handle social situations. Van Ek highlights the fact that these competences build upon each other, and sometimes even overlap. Nonetheless, they are distinctive aspects of the overall communicative competence, without which successful interaction in a foreign (and of course a first) language is not possible.

Another scholar, Bachman (1996), emphasizes the need for the capacity of implementing the "ability to use language communicatively" (p. 87), which involves the knowledge of or competence in the language as well. He labels "the relationship between utterances and the acts or functions that speakers (or writers) intend to perform" *pragmatic competence*. (Bachman, 1996. p. 89) He distinguishes it from *sociolinguistic competence* in which he includes the sensitivity to dialects, registers, naturalness and the ability to interpret cultural references. He also sets it apart from *strategic competence* which for him has a "compensatory function when the linguistic competence of the language users is inadequate" (Bachman, 1996. p. 99) and which has an assessment, planning and execution component.

Finally, Celce-Murcia's study as cited in Hatch (1992) contrasts *descriptive grammar*, the term used for dealing with forms, with *contextual analysis*, the search for the purpose of communication, the message content within context. She also uses the term *pragmatic competence* to denote the ability to know when and why particular language forms are used. In addition, she distinguishes pragmatic meaning from semantic or syntactic meaning claiming that the previous is derived from context, whereas the other is embedded in the linguistic items, i.e. words, sentences, utterances, themselves. Her definition of pragmatics would read as follows, "it is the study of what speakers mean to convey when they use a particular structure in context" (Celce-Murcia, as cited in Hatch, 1992, p. 260).

Savignon's perspective takes into account some of the non-verbal elements of communication, but the ultimate focus is on the verbal realization of behavior patterns. Richards and Sukwiwat (1987) look at competences as how they are represented in speech and verbal behavior, but take into account some of the non-verbal elements of communication as well. Bachmann focuses on the intention of speakers and how their acts are expressed verbally to convey these intentions. This approach already takes into account the nonverbal elements of communication more, but its ultimate focus is still verbal behavior. Celce-Murcia's interpretation of competences shows an approach that considers the contextual elements of communication more

than the previously mentioned authors, yet again explicit connection to the speakers' non-verbal behavior are not highlighted.

The researchers mentioned so far focused on the universalities of language use. Goffman's constraints, on the other hand, give more emphasis to not only the universalities of language use, but also the differences between languages (Hatch, 1992). Goffman claims that there is a set of universal constraints on all communication which he calls *system constraints,* and identifies them as (1) the opening and closing of conversations, (2) backchannel signals, (3) turnover signals, (4) acoustically adequate and interpretable messages, (5) bracket signals, (6) nonparticipant constraints, (7) pre-empt signals and (8) the Gricean norms for communication (relevance, truthfulness, quantity and quality maxims). According to his theory, system constraints are required for all instances of communication; they are universal to all languages. However, Goffman also established a set of *ritual constraints* that include the same elements as system constraints, but they concentrate on the cultural differences of communication. This is not only a universalistic approach that has an explicitly culture-specific perspective as well, but it also successfully incorporates the nonverbal elements of communicative behavior.

Furthermore, Tarone and Yule (1989) also made an effort to incorporate nonverbal elements of communication into the competences when they talk about *strategic competence*, which in their definition is (1) the overall skill of a learner in successfully transmitting information to the listener, or interpreting information transmitted, and (2) the use of communication strategies by a speaker or listener when problems arise in the process of transmitting information. Such strategies include repeating, circumlocution, approximation, literal translation, mime and message abandonment or topic avoidance. Their terminology, however, is not used consistently, as they sometimes call these features of communication *sociolinguistic competence* (Tarone and Yule, 1989, p. 97), and sometimes *pragmatic competence* (Tarone and Yule, 1989, pp. 89-90).

Finally, Schiffrin (1996), writing in the field of *interactional sociolinguistics,* which has its roots in linguistics, sociology and anthropology, covers ideas mostly identical with Goffman's constraints, Bachman's pragmatic competence, and Celce-Murcia's contextual analysis. The name of the field suggests a special focus on the interactional and social aspect of communication, as opposed to a purely linguistic approach, which again shows the trend of turning toward taking the verbal and non-verbal elements of communicative competences into account as well.

The above overview of linguistic approaches to communication shows that the terminology of competences required for successful communication used in the literature is overlapping. Nevertheless, whatever the above-mentioned competences mean in the different frameworks of several researchers, they are focused on the elements of verbal communication

patterns, whether it is an approach interested in the universal characteristics of successful communication, or one considering cultural differences. It was with the emergence of Byram's intercultural speaker (1997) as the aim of foreign language education that brought the attention to the fact that a change in perspective is needed, and a new competence was introduced into the world of language education and linguistics.

2.1.4 The relationship of behavior and the foreign language environment: the contexts of learning and communication

The distinction between English as a foreign language (EFL) and English as a second language (ESL) has been a vitally important difference in the learning-teaching situation, but today the term English as an International Language (EIL) is becoming widespread (Brown, 2000), especially as there certainly are differences between one ESL environment and another, or, for that matter, one EFL and another (i.e. the situation concerning the use of English in Sweden is not the same as in Hungary) (Brown, 2000).

The term ESL and TESL (Teaching ESL) have been used where students learn the foreign language outside their home country for different purposes, such as immigration, work, scholarships, and longer or shorter periods of staying abroad (Brown, 2000). Their teachers are usually, if not exclusively, native speakers of the target language, and students are exposed to the foreign language non-stop, that is, outside the classroom as well. This environment makes the learners acquire (and not learn) the nonverbal elements of behavior of the target culture. Another commonly used term is the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), which was coined to avoid distinguishing between foreign and second language learners.

The terms EFL and TEFL are defined as referring to the situation where students learn the foreign language in their native country, and are not exposed to the target language non-stop. They use it in the classroom and in exams, or on some occasions outside it, but it is not vital for managing their everyday lives. Most probably, the learner groups have a common language and frame of reference with their foreign language teacher, or if the teacher is a foreigner, the learners definitely have the same mother tongue with the other students. This situation does not force EFL students to make efforts to achieve effective communication among them all the time. When they encounter difficulties, they can simply switch over to their mother tongue or common language, and they are not forced to leave their common frame of reference of appropriate behavior either. Thus, in this setting communication takes place between people from and in the same cultural setting, only in a different language.

The term EIL reflects the changes of today's globalization that has resulted in English becoming the lingua franca of the world due to the "exploitation of scientific information"

(Kaplan, 1986, p. 12). It reflects a worldwide phenomenon of the English language being used for communication between native and non-native speakers of English. To date, when a student has been learning EFL or ESL, it has implied the same English language with emphasis on different elements of it occasionally (Schauer, 2006). The fact, however, that neither of the communicating parties may be using Standard English, either due to their dialectal differences as native speakers, or due to their being non-native speakers, and owing to the additional information that two-thirds of communication carried out in English is between non-native speakers of English anyways (Jenkins, 2006; Kuo, 2006), the question of what kind of English to teach in EFL and ESL settings arose. Should it be 'inner-circle' English, a term referring to the dialects of the UK, USA, and Canada, or 'outer-circle' English referring, for example, to the Creole English of Nigeria and the 'Hinglish' of India, or the 'expanding circle' English, which refers to forms of English where Standard English has no internal role in the country, for example Hungary? Should the English taught be exclusively native-like? Alternatively, should teachers give up their expectations, since it is proven they cannot learn, for instance, native-like pronunciation anyway (Singleton, 2005)?

Though the above outlined dilemma of which English to teach is outside the focus of the present investigation, the emergence of the term English as an International Language reflects a trend that cannot be overlooked. In fact, the present doctoral dissertation claims that incorporating intercultural competence development into foreign language education – whether it is in an ESL or EFL setting – will decrease the importance of the question, which English to teach. The results of the investigation will highlight that fact that differences in linguistic background are not exclusively to blame for misunderstandings and communication breakdowns, but rather that the differences of non-verbal behavior and values across cultures are much more to be held responsible for such phenomena. A fruitful response to the changing needs of the language learners who speak mostly with non-native speakers of English in their everyday lives in a globalized world is incorporating intercultural instruction into the teaching of (whichever form of) English as the lingua franca.

2.2 Review of studies on cultural value orientation

So far the issues of thinking and speaking were reviewed from the point of view of how they influence and manifest in behavior in general. It was also highlighted that linguistic studies feeding into foreign language education have mostly focused on the verbal element of behavior. In addition, the different contexts of using English were overviewed to illustrate further the place for intercultural competence development in foreign language education. By extension, the subsequent section outlines the current state of the field of cultural value orientation studies to show that misunderstandings and communication breakdowns are rooted in underlying cultural

values differences manifesting in both nonverbal and verbal behavior. The review feeds into the argument that intercultural competence development within the framework of foreign language instruction should include cultural value differences education, as it has been shown that there are cultural differences in cognition, emotion and motivation (Triandis, 2004). The review on the other hand throws light on the downside of the field, such as the problem of replicating the same statistically significant results from diverse databases, or the fact that analysis is always somewhat culturally biased, since each and every researcher brings his/her own cultural framework of perception into the research process that might have an impact on the outcome; or the fact that a fully objective analysis and interpretation of the database solely on numbers and statistical procedures in the case of cultural values is hard to achieve, as it is difficult to measure the construct and turn it into actual numbers.

2.2.1 Studies on culture

Studies concerning culture have focused on many of its aspects, and it is impossible to box them into one research field. Culture has been investigated from the point of view of the society (Mead, 1928/49; Malinowski, 1965; Habermas, 1965), cognitive processes (Rogoff, 1990), verbal and nonverbal communication (Hidasi, 2004; Canale 1983), literary criticism (Inkeles and Levinson,1954; Kramsch, 1998; Oxford and Anderson 1995), linguistics (Chick, 1996; Hatch (1992), pragmatics (Savignon, 2001; Richards and Sukwiwat, 1987; Bachman, 1996; Tarone and Yule, 1989; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989), psychology (Rokeach, 1968; Matsumoto, 2007), and language teaching (Schumann, 1986; Brown, 1986; Byram, 1997), not to mention anthropology (Nida, 1954; Herskovits, 1948; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Hall, 1973; etc.), intercultural communication studies (Dahl, 2005; Boromisza, 2003), and business management studies (Adler, 1983; Kirkman, Lowe, and Gibson, 2006; Child, 1981; Peterson, 2001; Hofstede, 2001; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998). The present dissertation focuses on culture from the perspective of foreign language education and social-psychology, in as much as it claims that the misunderstandings between people from different cultures stem from the differences of the values of their home cultures that they acquire during their socialization process, and that addressing these value differences consciously in the framework of foreign language education will result in culturally and linguistically more apt behavioral patterns displayed by language learners and language users.

2.2.2 Cultural value orientation studies and their criticism

The origins of cultural value orientation studies, another field of research that focuses on culture, go back to anthropological thinkers such as David Hume and Lévi-Strauss (Hofstede and

Hofstede, 2005). In 1954, Inkeles and Levinson's work concentrated on issues in English literature that would also qualify as common problems worldwide (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005). At the same time, early anthropologists were interested in values across cultures (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Parsons and Shils, 1951). The dominant questions at this phase of value orientation research were how humans related to nature and to other people (Buckley, 2000). For example, Kluckhohn (1961) was concerned with human nature, the man-to-nature relationship, man's relationship to time, and attitudes to activity and social relations. For any study of communication, but especially communication between people of different origin employing languages other than the participants mother tongue, cultural values are of utmost importance as they are overtly or covertly manifest in how and to what end people use language for, as well as how non-verbal communication is structured along the lines of the values held high in a given society. In other words, both verbal and non-verbal human interactions are interwoven with hidden cultural values.

In the first part of the 20th century, the work of early researchers into cultural values (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Parsons and Shils, 1951; and Inkeles and Levinson, 1954) was exploratory and descriptive, and qualitative in nature. Their work was not only pioneering, but also provided a strong philosophical and attitudinal foundation for research on cultural values in later times. In addition to being the starting point for cultural value research, they emphasized the need for scientific work that is both centered on one aspect and is examined in several circumstances in order to provide generalizable conclusions. Because of the technological development of the second half of the 20th century, applying automated computation for establishing tendencies of cultural phenomena procured an understanding of variations in values that earlier scientific work could not highlight equally well. Hofstede's research starting in the '70s on IBM employees' work attitude in 76 countries for example, turned into a major work of statistical comparative cultural value survey (Hofstede, 1980). Other huge surveys rendering data to statistical analysis followed: GLOBE (House et al., 2004); Schwartz's Theory of Value (1994); Inglehart's World Value Survey (1997); and most recently the European Social Survey (2008). These studies are discussed in more detail below.

Hofstede originally was researching work related values from 1967-1973 in an organizational environment (IBM). More than 117,000 questionnaires were answered in 20 languages across 72 countries during those years (Hofstede and McCrae, 2004) with the help of a questionnaire that has been improved several times since then. It currently runs under the name Value Survey Module (VSM) 08 and can be downloaded freely in 22 languages from Hofstede's personal website. A Hungarian translation exists for the 1994 version of VSM (http://www.geerthofstede.nl/media/348/VSM94Hungarian.pdf). His newest publication

(Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010) includes an analysis of the original IBM dataset combined with other data, mostly those of the World Value Survey (www.worldvaluesurvey.org). The broadening of the database made it possible to provide data for 93 countries.

Hofstede analyzed his 1967-1973 IBM data statistically with factor analysis on an individual level originally. Analyzing the answers of individuals is an accepted method of statistical procedures in the field of psychology (Hofstede, 1995). Factor analysis is a statistical procedure originating from psychometrics where unobserved variables are looked for among the observable variables (Szokolszky, 2004). For example, if a survey has 40 items, some of them may relate to each other in a way, which is not obvious right away even to the creator of the survey. These hidden relations can be identified with the help of factor analysis. For example, Charles Spearman – an English psychologist often referred to as the father of factor analysis – noticed when he examined schoolchildren's performance that their scores in seemingly unrelated subjects correlated, that is, if they were good in one subject, they tended to be good in another one as well. This meant that there must be some kind of hidden quality in those children that enabled them to do well in all those seemingly unconnected subjects. From his observations, the *g* theory was born which is widely accepted in intelligence research today (Spearman, 1904). Hofstede's case with the factor analysis of his IBM data is similar in as much as a survey of work attitude in the end provided him with cultural level variations in values that helped him create the paradigm of cultural dimensions.

After a long process of trial and error at the individual level of factor analysis, Hofstede ventured a national aggregate level of analysis (Hofstede, 1995; Hofstede, 2001) for the IBM data. This meant that "individual answers on survey questions were aggregated into mean scores per country" (Hofstede, 1995, p. 208). In other words, he compared the mean of the scores of the individuals of one country to the mean of the scores of the individuals of another country, as opposed to comparing the results on the individual level, i.e., comparing each individual's scores on the items of the questionnaire. Thus the almost 117,000 cases (individual answers) dropped to 40 cases (country means) on the 32 items he included in the factor analysis (Hofstede, 1995, p. 208). Because of this type of analysis, it was possible to identify four major issues, or factors, to which countries in his database showed varying attitudes. The various reactions to these issues form a continuum, which he labeled 'cultural dimension' along which country cultures can be described. The four dimensions the IBM data yielded are high versus (vs.) low power distance index (PDI), individualism versus collectivism (IDV), masculinity versus femininity (MASC) and uncertainty avoidance versus uncertainty tolerance (UAI).

The original IBM questionnaire contained three items that seemed to involve power and (in)equality relating to each other in the closest way, and therefore were included in calculating

the power distance index, the cultural dimension of power distance. The items in question were concerned with (1) how afraid employees were to express their disagreement with their managers; (2) how they *perceived* their boss' decision-making style ranging four possible answers from autocratic to paternalistic with an option to chose 'none of these'; and (3) which decision-making style they *preferred* (autocratic, paternalistic, based on majority vote, or consultative) (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p. 56). Based on the results from the original IBM database and the research Hofstede carried out since then, the definition of power distance today reads as:

> the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. This represents inequality (more versus less), but defined from below, not from above. It suggests that a society's level of inequality is endorsed by the followers as much as by the leaders. Power and inequality, of course, are extremely fundamental facts of any society and anybody with some international experience will be aware that "all societies are unequal, but some are more unequal than others. (http://www.geerthofstede.nl/dimensions-of-national-cultures)

Another dimension, individualism vs. collectivism, found in the IBM data was based on the following work goal items that most strongly correlated with each other:

On the individualist pole:

(1) Personal time: have a job that leaves you sufficient time for your personal or family life
(2) Freedom: have considerable freedom to adopt your own approach to the job
(3) Challenge: have challenging work to do – work from which you can a get a personal sense of accomplishment

On the collectivist pole:

(4) Training: have training opportunities (to improve your skills or learn new skills)
(5) Physical condition: have good physical working conditions (good ventilation and lighting, adequate workspace, etc.)
(6) Use of skills: fully use your skills and abilities on the job (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p. 93).

The first set of goals is easily identified as the cornerstone for individualist cultures, as they all stress the importance of the independence of the employee from the organization. The second set of items represents what an organization does for its employees, thereby reflecting a collectivist attitude, that is, the employee's dependence on the organization for personal well-being. It is important to mention that the term collectivism is not to be understood politically. It does not refer to how much power a state may have over the individual, rather "it refers to the power of the group" (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p. 91). Other, non-IBM based data later confirmed that these items of the IBM questionnaire did indeed measure individualism

(Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). Together with these other sources, Hofstede puts the definition of the dimension of individualism-collectivism today as:

> the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups. On the individualist side, we find societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after her/himself and her/his immediate family. On the collectivist side, we find societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families (with uncles, aunts and grandparents) which continue protecting them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. The word collectivism in this sense has no political meaning: it refers to the group, not to the state. Again, the issue addressed by this dimension is an extremely fundamental one, regarding all societies in the world. (http://www.geerthofstede.nl/dimensions-of-national-cultures)

The third dimension concerns the continuum between masculine and feminine cultures. It is connected to the value of assertive vs. modest behavior, and was embodied in the IBM questionnaire in the following items:

For the masculine pole:

(1) Earnings: have an opportunity for high earnings
(2) Recognition: get the recognition you deserve when you do a good job
(3) Advancement: have an opportunity for advancement for higher-level jobs
(4) Challenge: have challenging work to do – work from which you can get a personal sense of accomplishment

For the feminine pole:

(5) Manager: have a good working relationship with your direct superior
(6) Cooperation: work with people who cooperate well with one another
(7) Living area: live in an area desirable to you and your family
(8) Employment security: have the security that you will be able to work for your company as long as you want to (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p. 139).

People scoring high on the first set of values were mostly male, whereas women in IBM tended to prefer the second set of goals. Therefore country cultures in the IBM database were labeled masculine for where the first set of goals were scored more, and feminine for those country cultures where the second branch of the values were chosen by the respondents more often. Thus, the name of the dimension was created because this was the only cluster of items in the questionnaire where men and women among the IBM employees "scored consistently differently" (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p. 139). The scores on the items yielding the dimensions of power distance and individualism vs. collectivism did not show this gender difference. Again, as with the previously described dimensions, the IBM results combined with

non-IBM data from later research provide a fuller picture of masculine and feminine cultures, and enables the definition for the dimension to be put as

> the distribution of emotional roles between the genders, which is another fundamental issue for any society to which a range of solutions are found. The IBM studies revealed that (a) women's values differ less among societies than men's values; (b) men's values from one country to another contain a dimension from very assertive and competitive and maximally different from women's values on the one side, to modest and caring and similar to women's values on the other. The assertive pole has been called masculine and the modest, caring pole feminine. The women in feminine countries have the same modest, caring values as the men; in the masculine countries they are more assertive and more competitive, but not as much as the men, so that these countries show a gap between men's values and women's values. (http://www.geerthofstede.nl/dimensions-of-national-cultures).

The fourth dimension that the IBM work value survey yielded is that of uncertainty avoidance vs. uncertainty tolerance. The source of this dimension was in an item of the IBM research project on job stress to which Hofstede found significant answer patterns from country to country, whether the respondents were managers, administrative staff or factory workers in IBM. He then reanalyzed all the items and found that the following three were strongly correlated:

(1) Job stress represented by answer to the question "How often do you feel nervous or tense at work?"

(2) Agreement with the statement "Company rules should not be broken – even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest."

(3) The percentage of employees expressing their intent to stay with the company for a long-term career. The question was "How long do you think you will continue working for IBM?" The possible answers ran from (1) two years the most; (2) from two to five years; (3) more than five years (but probably will leave before retirement); and (4) until retirement. The percentage in a country answering 3 or 4 was correlated with the mean answers on questions 1 and 2. (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p. 190).

At first Hofstede did not understand how these three items were related. Individual level analysis (looking at the answers of individual "someones"), did not yield correlation between the items, which meant that these values were not shared by the same people. "It was *the differences in mean answers by country* for the three questions that were correlated. So, if in a country more people felt under stress at work, in the same country more people wanted rules to be respected, and more people wanted to have a long-term career" (italics in original, p. 191), then that country scored high on the uncertainty avoidance scale. All the three items reflect how a society relates to anxiety stemming from an uncertain future and ambiguity. The definition of the dimension uncertainty avoidance vs. tolerance is therefore

> the extent a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations. Unstructured situations are novel, unknown, surprising, and different from usual. Uncertainty avoiding cultures try to minimize the possibility of such situations by strict laws and rules, safety and security measures, and on the philosophical and religious level by a belief in absolute Truth: "there can only be one Truth and we have it". People in uncertainty avoiding countries are also more emotional, and motivated by inner nervous energy. The opposite type, uncertainty accepting cultures, are more tolerant of opinions different from what they are used to; they try to have as few rules as possible, and on the philosophical and religious level they are relativist and allow many currents to flow side by side. People within these cultures are more phlegmatic and contemplative, and not expected by their environment to express emotions. (http://www.geerthofstede.nl/dimensions-of-national-cultures).

The above detailed dimensions were established by a Westerner in a Western organizational context. A group of Chinese and Taiwanese researchers under the leadership of Michael Harris Bond believed that Hofstede's questionnaire was based on western values, beliefs and assumptions (Bond, 1987). Therefore, they set out to compose a survey that was based on Eastern values instead. Bond's team collected a list of important values from different researchers in the Far East, and from these statements, they compiled a 40-item questionnaire, the Chinese Value Survey (CVS). They administered it to 100 students (50 males and 50 females) in each of 23 Asian and non-Asian countries (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). Their results showed four dimensions as well, three of which correlated with those of Hofstede: power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, and masculinity vs. femininity. The dimension missing in the CVS was uncertainty avoidance. Thus, researcher bias was controlled for (Dörnyei, 2005) in the case of the first three dimensions. The fourth dimension they found they called 'Confucian work dynamism'. The two poles of this dimension include:

On the one side:

(1) Persistence (perseverance)
(2) Thrift
(3) Ordering relationships by status and observing this order
(4) Having a sense of shame

On the other side:

(5) Reciprocation of greetings, favors, and gifts
(6) Respect for tradition
(7) Protecting one's "face"
(8) Personal steadiness and stability (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, pp. 236-237)

As this CVS dimension correlated strongly with economic growth, Hofstede decided to include it in among his dimensions for a global model. He renamed it *long-term orientation vs.*

short-term orientation (LTO), however, since he found the first set of values to refer to virtues favoring a future orientation, and the second one favoring past and present virtues. The CVS included only 22 countries originally, but with later research and the inclusion of the World Value Survey data in Hofstede's latest edition of *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the mind*, scores for 93 countries have been made available for this dimension. The definition of long-term orientation vs. short-term orientation today claims that

> long-term oriented societies foster pragmatic virtues oriented towards future rewards, in particular saving, persistence, and adapting to changing circumstances. Short-term oriented societies foster virtues related to the past and present such as national pride, respect for tradition, preservation of "face", and fulfilling social obligations. (http://www.geerthofstede.nl/dimensions-of-national-cultures).

It was already mentioned how the dimensions emerging in the original IBM database were correlated later with other, non-IBM databases (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). These combined data sources are the base for the current definitions of the dimensions. The fact that non-IBM population tested with the same instrument confirmed the same factors validates Hofstede's claim that cultural dimensions are a global concept. Several researchers replicated his research since then with different samples (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). Hoppe (1990), for instance, reproduced the survey in his doctoral study, in which he examined international differences in work related and learning values at the US sponsored Salzburg Seminar in Austria, where course participants were from the elite, i.e. leaders in politics, art, business, labor and education from 18 countries. Shane (1995, as cited in Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010) surveyed employees of six international firms, excluding IBM, between 28-32 countries. Meritt (2000, as cited in Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010) focused on commercial airline pilots; de Mooij (2001), Mouritzen (2002) and van Nimwegen (2002) included consumers in 15, top municipal civil servants in 14 and bank employees in 19 countries respectively (as cited in Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010) . All these studies confirmed the existence of three out of the four dimensions, the missing one always being different, which may be accounted for by the sample characteristics. Smaller replication studies, i.e. studies that included a comparison of only two or three countries are also abundant. Mikael Sondergaard did a thorough analysis of applications and replications of Hofstede's work (Sondergaard, 1994). He found four types of applications: 1036 citations from journals in the Social Science Citation Index, 37 reviews on Hofstede's landmark book *Culture's Consequences*, 61 published and unpublished (but sent to Hofstede's private library) replications that either replicate or validate them the dimensions in other populations, and 274 paradigm applications across a multitude of disciplines where Hofstede's dimensions are employed to initiate discussion, or to generate hypotheses to connect seemingly unrelated data. His meta- and content analysis of the studies showed that after some

adjustment of the "perception of environment at the time of the research and known sample characteristics had been made" (Sondergaard, 1994, p. 452), very few non-confirmations of Hofstede's four dimensions could be identified. He concludes that the results of the analysis of applications and replications confirm the existence of Hofstede's four dimensions.

Hofstede, however, is not the only one who has been working with cultural values and the legitimacy of cultural dimensions in research. Parallel with him, Hall (1976) focused on issues of societies' relation to context, time and space. As a cognitive anthropologist doing his research work from the 1940s through the 1960s, Hall's data collection and analysis methods were qualitative in nature. He described cultures as high vs. low context, polychronic vs. monochronic, and high vs. low territoriality cultures, based on analyzing incidents that happened to US foreign aid workers in the 1950s and 1960s. According to his observations,

> a high-context communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. (Hall, 1976, p. 91)

The perception of time also varies from culture to culture. Monochronic cultures prefer "doing one thing at a time" (Hall, 1973, p. 153). They look at time as a linear and segmented construct that is tangible and orders life, therefore schedules are very important. It tends to influence human relationships in a way that one person is in intensified contact mostly with one, two or three people at most (Hall, 1976). Polychronic cultures, on the other hand, emphasize the importance of schedules less, human contact is not restricted to a small number of people, but they are in the forefront with extended family or colleagues as well. In these cultures, things happening simultaneously are the accepted norm, interrupting others is not considered rude or disrespectful. High territoriality cultures prefer clear-cut spaces and ownership. What is 'mine' cannot and should not be intruded by others, it should be respected. High territoriality cultures prefer low context communication. On the other hand, low territoriality cultures tend to treat ownership of space and boundaries less rigorously, and their sense of what constitute 'stealing' is less developed. Theses cultures tend to be high context at the same time.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) administered questionnaires with circa 65,000 organizational managers throughout the world (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003) and analyzed those statistically. Trompenaars' consulting agency website as of May 1, 2011 claims over 100,000 records over 100 countries. The questionnaire used by Trompenaars included diagnostic questions (1) either eliciting values by asking the respondents to describe how they would react in imaginary scenarios, (2) that made respondents to make a forced choice between two value

statements (Smith, Dugan and Trompenaars, 1996), or (3) they had to choose among five possible positions. For example, an item for an imaginary situation may look like this:

> You are a passenger in a car driven by a close friend. He hits a pedestrian. You know he was going at least 35 miles (56km) per hour in an area of the city where the maximum speed allowed is 20 miles (32 km) per hour. There are no witnesses. His lawyer says that if you are prepared to testify under oath that he was only driving at 20 miles per hour it may save him from serious consequences.
> What right has your friend to protect him?
> 1. My friend has a definite right, as a friend, to expect me to testify to the lower figure.
> 2. He has some right, as a friend, to expect me to testify to the lower figure.
> 3. He has no right, even as a friend, to expect me to testify to the lower figure.
>
> Would you help your friend in view of the obligations you feel towards society?
> (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 34)

An item for a forced choice dilemma looked like this.

> Your boss asks you to paint his house at the weekend. There are two arguments based on different value systems:
> (a) You don't have to paint the house – that's specific, because the relationship you have with your boss is specific to the world of work, not his domestic situation.
> (b) "Yes, it's my boss, I have to do it." This is diffuse; your economic life and family depend on your boss, so you will help. Your relationship is more than just what you have in the office.
> With which statement do you agree?
> (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 67)

An item with five options to choose from looked like this:

> In my society, it is considered unprofessional to express emotions overtly. Please select your position on the statement above:
> (a) Strongly agree
> (b) Agree
> (c) Undecided
> (d) Disagree
> (e) Strongly disagree
> (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 53)

From their database they set up the dimensions of *universalism vs. particularism; individualism vs. communitarianism; affectivity vs. neutrality; specificity vs. diffuseness; achievement vs. ascription; time orientation (sequential or non-sequential)* and *relation to nature (inner or outer oriented).* A definition for each dimension or dilemma follows.

Universalism versus particularism

> More universalist cultures tend to feel that general rules and obligations are a strong source of moral reference. Universalists tend to follow the rules even when friends are involved and look for "the one best way" of dealing equally and fairly with all

> cases. They assume that the standards they hold dear are the right ones and they attempt to change the attitudes of others to match. Particularist societies are those where "particular" circumstances are much more important than the rules. Bonds of particular relationships (family, friends) are stronger than any abstract rule and the response may change according to circumstances and the people involved. (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 33).

Individualism versus communitarianism

> The individualist culture sees the individual as the end and improvements to collective arrangements as the means to achieve it. The communitarian culture sees the group as its end and improvements to individual capacities as a means to that end. (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 48).

Affectivity vs. neutrality concerns the extent to which reason or emotion dominates our relationship to people. If a culture tends to be affective, it means it tends to display emotion, for which an emotional reaction is expected. If the culture is emotionally neutral, it does not mean it does not have emotions, it is just not valued to display them and react in an emotional way (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 52)

Specificity versus diffuseness

> This cultural dimension concerns the degree of involvement in relationships. It deals with the degree to which we engage others in specific areas of life and single levels of personality, or diffusely in multiple areas of our lives and at several levels at the same time. In specific-oriented cultures, a manager segregates out the (specific) task relationship she or he has with a subordinate and isolates this from other matters. But in some cultures, every life space and every level of personality tends to permeate all others. (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 63)

Achievement versus ascription

> Some societies accord status to people on the basis of their achievements whereas others ascribe status by virtue of age, class, gender, education, etc. The first we call achieved status and the second ascribed status. While achieved status refers to doing (what you do), ascribed status refers to being (who you are). Achievement oriented cultures will market their products and services on the basis of their performance. Performance, skill and knowledge justify their authority. Ascription-oriented cultures often ascribe status to products and services. (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 71-72)

Time orientation (sequential or synchronous)

> …our view of time is sequential, a series of passing events, or whether it is synchronic, with past, present and future all interrelated so that ideas about the future and memories of the past both shape present action. (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 77-78)

Relation to nature (internal or external control)

> In cultures in which an organic view of nature dominates, and in which the assumptions are shared that man is subjugated to nature, individuals appear to orient their actions towards others. People become "other directed" in order to survive; their focus is on the environment rather than themselves, known as external control.
> Conversely, other people who have a mechanistic view of nature, in addition to believing that man can dominate nature, usually take themselves as the point of departure for determining the correct course of action. This is an "inner-directedness", and is reflected through the current fashion of customer orientation. (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003, p. 92)

Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) claim that the above dimensions were not based on Trompenaars' own empirical research, but that the items in the surveys were based on previous scientists' work, the first five dimensions from Parsons and Shils (1951), and the other two from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). Minkov (2007) also argues that some of these dimensions correlate with each other, that is, if one scores high on one dimension, one is likely to score high on another one as well. This suggests that the correlating dimensions have another underlying unobserved factor, so in reality the items of the survey instrument do not tap into seven dimensions, but into only two or three. Regardless, however, of the differences in theoretical approach, Hofstede and Trompenaars are two representatives of a generation of social scientists who helped establish the relationship between country level differences of cultures and cultural misunderstandings, economic performance and social characteristics. The greatness of their work resides in the fact that their concept of culture employs only a limited number of elements, thereby making the understanding of, working in and teaching of complex cultural settings very tangible and manageable.

Alexander Thomas, the father of *kulturstandard* research, examined culture with a different research approach **(**Thomas, 1991 as cited in Csath, 2008; Borgulya, 2006; and Topcu, 2005). As opposed to the quantitative, positivist approach the previously mentioned researchers employed in their methods and data collection and analysis, Thomas used qualitative measures to collect data on bicultural interactions, and set up 'cultural standards' on the basis of German-Chinese, Austrian-Hungarian and German-Hungarian comparative cultural analyses. Narrative interviews were carried out with German, Chinese, Hungarian and Austrian company workers in German-Chinese, Austrian-Hungarian and German-Hungarian comparative research to see what each nation thought of as being 'normal' or 'standard'. His research design took it for granted that other cultures are described in the eye of the beholder, that is, we judge other cultures as good or bad by employing our own cultural norms. In other words, Thomas embraced ethnocentrism as he considered it impossible to be avoided. By interviewing people from one culture on how they see the people from the other culture, Thomas and his colleagues were able to create cultural standard

profiles based on which France, the UK, Russia, Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary were compared to each other. This qualitative research design makes it possible to get a deeper insight into the characteristics of the examined cultures. Although Thomas' database may not be as enormous as Hofstede's, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's, or the GLOBE project's, but his scope is also narrower, as he focused on the professional subcultures of national cultures due to his sample characteristics. A further difference is that his data renders insight rather into behavioral orientations as opposed to the value orientations the other cultural dimension models provide. Thomas himself considered kulturstandard research as complementary to the cultural dimension model research, though practice shows that there is a tendency for applying the kulturstandard method in a way that the actual cultural standards tend to overlap with other researcher's cultural dimensions (Topcu, 2005). The above-mentioned differences notwithstanding, kulturstandard research can provide detailed information on how intercultural (bicultural) situations are resolved, how the interactants view themselves and the other participants in these situations, from which deductions can be made about the underlying value orientations of the participants.

Yet another researcher, Shalom Schwartz**,** with a background in psychology, has also been researching values. He first executed a literature review of values in which he identified 56 single values (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000) that later showed significant correlation with Hofstede's results of dimensional characteristics of cultures (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). Then he conducted several surveys with the help of the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS; Schwartz, 1992). The SVS contains two lists of value items, one formulated with nouns that represent the desirable end states of a value, and one that signals a desirable way of acting out that same value in an adjectival form. The respondents had to rank the items on a 9-point scale how important a part a given item played in their life as a "guiding principle" (Schwartz, 2006, p. 11). From the data collected over the years from which he was able to postulate a basic individual values theory deriving "10 motivationally distinct types of values, postulated to be recognized implicitly in all cultures" (Schwartz and Sagiv, 1995, p. 92).

At one point, he analyzed 88 samples across 40 countries with a statistical procedure called smallest space analyses (SSA) based on Guttman (1968, as cited in Schwartz and Sagiv, 1995), a form of multidimensional scaling technique (MDST). MDST is used to decrease the number of variables in a data set (Babbie, 1998). Values attached to each data can be represented in either a two dimensional graph (like a coordinate system), or a three-dimensional one (like a cube). The less number of variables a set of data is defined by, the easier it is to determine its position in the scale. SSA, furthermore, focuses on the distance of the data from each other in the scale. If the distance is large between two items, they are likely to belong to different variables. If

it is small, they are close to each other. With SSA, it is possible to determine the smallest distance between to variables that would still characteristically distinguish them from each other, thereby making sure that separate variables were identified. Applying SSA enabled Schwartz to test the actual and hypothesized content and structure of the value types, i.e. how big a difference there was between the values the respondents were thinking of when answering and the values Schwartz earlier identified in the literature. His tests confirmed the universal content of the ten motivational types of individual values across cultures (Schwartz and Sagiv, 1995). These value types are *power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity,* and *security* (Schwartz and Boehnke, 2004, p. 231), and are listed below with their definition, together with the single values that represent them in brackets.

> Power: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources (authority, social power, wealth, preserving my public image)
>
> Achievement: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (ambitious, successful, capable, influential)
>
> Hedonism: Pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself (pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgent)
>
> Stimulation: Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life (daring, a varied life, an exciting life)
>
> Self-direction: Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring (creativity, freedom, independent, choosing own goals, curious)
>
> Universalism: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (equality, social justice, wisdom, broadminded, protecting the environment, unity with nature, a world of beauty)
>
> Benevolence: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact (helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible)
>
> Tradition: Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provides (devout, respect for tradition, humble, moderate)
>
> Conformity: Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms (self-discipline, politeness, honoring parents and elders, obedience)
>
> Security: Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self (family security, national security, social order, clean, reciprocation of favors) (Schwartz and Boehnke, 2004, p. 239).

The above summary explains how Schwartz analyzed individual value types in order to find their universal content across cultures. His research then led him to examine three issues that all

societies need to address: (1) the relationship of the individual and the group; (2) the guarantee of responsible behavior in order to uphold the social structure; and (3) the relationship of human kind to nature (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000). On the basis of the various responses societies give to these three problems, Schwartz proposed a theory of cultural value dimensions consisting of seven culture level value types, and forming three continua, or dimensions: (1) embeddedness versus (intellectual and affective) autonomy, (2) hierarchy versus egalitarian commitment, and (3) mastery versus harmony (Smith, Peterson and Schwartz, et al. 2002; Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000). The definition of each cultural value type is listed below based on Smith, Peterson and Schwartz, et al. 2002, p. 193):

1. Embeddedness vs. Autonomy

> *"Conservatism or embeddedness* emphasizes maintaining the status quo, propriety, and restraint of actions or inclinations that might disrupt the solidary group or the traditional order in which people are embedded.
>
> *Intellectual autonomy* emphasizes the desirability of individuals' pursuing their own ideas and intellectual directions independently.
>
> *Affective autonomy* emphasizes the desirability of individuals' pursuing affectively positive experience.

2. Hierarchy vs. Egalitarian commitment

> *Hierarchy* emphasizes the legitimacy of an unequal distribution of power, roles and resources.
>
> *Egalitarianism* emphasizes transcendence of selfish interests in favor of voluntary commitment to promoting the welfare of others.

3. Mastery vs. Harmony

> *Mastery* emphasizes getting ahead through active self-assertion.
>
> *Harmony* emphasizes fitting harmoniously into the environment."

To establish the culture level value types, Schwartz surveyed over 60,000 individuals in 63 countries, secondary school students and teachers (Smith, Peterson, and Schwartz et al. 2002). He employed the MDST again, but this time on the country means for 45 values (out of his original 56) that he previously identified as having similar meanings across cultures. His analysis validated the even cultural value types listed above (Smith, Peterson, and Schwartz et al. 2002). The importance of Schwartz's work lies in the fact that he works both with individual values and cultural values, and that he always uses a sample that includes more than 30 countries which is necessary for drawing adequate conclusions for probable behavior patterns, or to make sure that the definition of a behavior in question representing a certain value is defined similarly in all

cultures, or if it is differently defined, then what the culture-specific variations are. Furthermore, his samples are matched and include people other than managers and organizational leaders (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000).

Schwartz's values theory was employed in designing the European Social Survey (ESS) (Davidov, 2008). The ESS is a repeat cross-sectional survey, meaning several rounds of interviewing take place over time, and it is a survey that looks into different layers of the societies investigated (ESS information brochure). The ESS intends to map with the help of a rigorous research design how social attitudes, values, attributes and behavior patterns change in Europe. It produces data collected every two years since 2002 from one hour-long interview with respondents forming a nationally representative and random sample (15+ age) from altogether over 30 countries, each round of data collection having a different number of participating countries. The collected database is freely available to all for downloading and analysis from the ESS website www.europeansocialsurvey.org. Data collection is currently in Round 6. The instrument, which is refined for each round, has two parts. The first half taps into core topics repeated at each round, whereas the second half of the interview consists of rotating modules, designed by leading academics of the European social sciences community. The core module consists of the topics of

(1) Trust in institutions
(2) National, ethnic, religious identity
(3) Political engagement
(4) Well-being, health and security
(5) Socio-political values
(6) Demographic composition
(7) Moral and social values
(8) Education and occupation
(9) Social capital
(10) Financial circumstances
(11) Social exclusion
(12) Household circumstances

The second half of the instrument so far had the following rotating modules:

Round 1
Immigration and asylum
Citizen involvement and democracy
Round 2
Family, work and well-being
Economic morality
Health and care seeking
Round 3
Personal and social well-being
Perceptions of the life course
Round 4

Experiences and expressions of ageism
Welfare attitudes in changing Europe
Round 5
Work, family and well-being
Trust in criminal justice
Round 6
Personal and social well-being
Europeans' understanding and evaluations of democracy

Specific questions in the core module include items on television, radio, newspaper, and internet usage; whether the respondent takes an active part in politics and government by expressing political views; what the respondent's attitude is to immigrants, whether the respondent feels secure from burglary or violent crime at home or in the streets, etc. To make sure that the data are of exceptionally high quality, data collection in each participating country is commissioned from an agency that can best perform this task. Data analysis is carried out by individual researcher using the ESS database. As there are currently 590 items in the ESS bibliography, it is impossible to summarize the different statistical procedures that have been applied to the ESS databank in the case of the different analyses. Many more publications are to come from this well of data in the future as well.

The GLOBE project **(**Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) surveyed values in 62 countries around the world in three stages (House et al. 2004). Phase 1 of GLOBE concerned the design and testing of the research instruments, whereas Phase 2 focused on the definition and assessment of nine basic characteristics of societal and organizational cultures, the cultural dimensions of the GLOBE study (House and Javidan, 2004). The dimensions and their definitions are listed below:

> Uncertainty avoidance is the extent to which members of an organization or society strive to avoid uncertainty by relaying on established social norms, rituals and bureaucratic practices. People in high uncertainty avoidance cultures actively seek to decrease the probability of unpredictable future events that could adversely affect the operation of an organization or society and remedy the success of such adverse effects.
>
> Power distance is the degree to which members of an organization or society expect and agree that power should be stratified and concentrated at higher levels of an organization or government.
>
> Collectivism I, Institutional collectivism, is the degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action.
>
> Collectivism II, In-group collectivism, is the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their organizations or families.
>
> Gender egalitarianism is the degree to which an organization or a society minimizes gender roles differences while promoting gender equality.
>
> Assertiveness is the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in social relationships.

> Future orientation is the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies engage in future-oriented behaviors such as planning, investing in the future, and delaying individual or collective gratification.
>
> Performance orientation is the degree to which an organization or society encourages and rewards group members for performance improvement and excellence.
>
> Humane orientation is the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies encourage and reward individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring and kind to others. (House and Javidan, 2004, p. 11-13)

It is of no coincidence that the names of the GLOBE dimensions are very similar to those of Hofstede, as the researchers working on GLOBE used his work as a starting point (House and Javidan, 2004). They refined a few things, however. For instance, the Masculinity dimension of Hofstede was felt to cover more than one issue, so the GLOBE designed two separate dimensions, Gender Egalitarianism and Assertiveness instead of using the single dimension of Masculinity. In addition, since the GLOBE did not agree with Hofstede's interpretation of Confucian Work Dynamism on which his long versus short-term orientation dimension is based, they rather turned to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) to derive their future orientation dimension from their concepts of how cultures relate to past, present or future events and actions.

On the other hand, performance orientation of GLOBE has its roots in McClelland's (1961) work on the need for achievement (as cited in House and Javidan, 2004), which is defined as a non-conscious motivation, but the GLOBE study goes further in saying it is present not only in individuals but at the societal and organizational level, and that scores on the Performance Orientation dimension may predict the economic performance of a country. Furthermore, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's work (1961) on how cultures view Human Nature, as inherently good or as inherently bad was used for deriving the dimension of Humane orientation. Finally, the dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance in the GLOBE study is based on Cyert and March's 1963 conceptualization as an organizational attribute.

It was during Phase 2 that the 62 countries were ranked according to the nine cultural dimensions, and the connection of the dimensional positions and other issues were investigated. Such issues of interest included financial results, food processing, telecommunications, indices of economic prosperity, i.e. gross national product (GNP), psychological and physical welfare of members of a society, and finally yet importantly, leadership styles derived from culturally implicit leadership theory. Phase 3 measures how the subordinates' attitudes and performance may be affected by the impact and effectiveness of certain leadership behaviors and styles of CEOs.

To create the research instruments, first a literature review was carried out, then interviews and focus groups were involved in order to evaluate the relevance of the items of the instruments

to be used for data collection. The instruments included two separate questionnaires, one on leadership and one on societal and organizational culture. In the leadership questionnaire, a 112 leadership attributes were listed and respondents were asked to decide if "This behavior or characteristic greatly inhibits a person from being an outstanding leader" (1 on the scale), or "This behavior or characteristic contributes greatly to a person being an outstanding leader" (7 on the scale) (House and Javidan, 2004, p. 21). The 112 leadership attributes then were grouped into 21 subscales with factor analysis, which in turn were narrowed down to six global leader behavior dimensions. The societal and organizational culture questionnaire employed a 7-point Likert scale on which respondents had to mark their answers. In addition, the items distinguished between national and organizational culture and between practices and values. The latter was achieved by including items that tapped into how the respondents saw their organization or society actually functioned (*As Is* items), whereas other items focused on what they would have preferred instead of the current practices (*Should Be* items).

The samples used in the study consisted of middle managers of three industries: food processing, telecommunications and financial services. Altogether 951 organizations were involved and approximately 17,000 questionnaire responses were elicited in the geographic regions of Africa, Southern Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America, the Middle East and the Pacific Rim, with at least three countries in each region. The importance of the three industries lies in the fact that food processing is a stable business, whereas the other two are more susceptible to changes of the market. These types of businesses therefore create a picture of leadership and organizational and societal attributes that are relevant in times of stability and change as well. Finally, whereas all respondents filled in the leadership questionnaire, the sample was split into two for the questionnaires on organizational and societal culture: in each organization, half of the respondents answered the items concerning organizational culture, whereas the other half replied concerning national cultures. Thus common source bias – the fact that the same would have been answered by the same respondent concerning both the organizational and the societal cultures – was controlled for (House and Javidan, 2004).

Just as Hofstede (1980, 1991, etc.) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), the GLOBE also researched an organizational sample (House et al, 2004). Criticizing the GLOBE study, Minkov (2007) mentions that – as it is the case with Trompenaars' dimensions – some of the GLOBE dimensions correlate exceptionally strongly with each other. For instance, GLOBE's uncertainty avoidance practices correlate at 0.76 with GLOBE's future orientation practices (Minkov, 2007, p. 21). It would not only be sensible to combine them, which would make working with them easier as well, but it also suggests that the separate items belong to one wider issue. He further criticizes the fact that the original GLOBE questionnaires and the country scores

have not been published, thus statistical verification of the interpretation of their findings is rendered difficult (Minkov, 2007).

The cross-cultural statistical analyses mentioned so far used matched samples, that is, the people that were questioned included participants who were from the same age group, gender, educational background, job position, etc. except for their nationality. However, Inglehart's World Value Survey (WVS), an ongoing longitudinal nationally representative survey, works with random probability samples (WVS brochure). Random probability samples are groups of respondents who are chosen randomly from the sampling frame, in this case, the whole population of a certain country (Szokolszky, 2004, p. 614). This type of sampling technique provides a chance for each type of member of the population to become participants, it best reflects the make-up of the population, and it enables estimating sampling errors. Starting from 1981, Inglehart have been researching basic values and beliefs and their relationship to socio-cultural and political change (WVS brochure). People's beliefs and values concerning 10 major issues have been focused on *religion, gender roles, work motivations, democracy, good governance, social capital, political participation, tolerance of other groups, environmental protection and subjective wellbeing*. The data were collected according to rigorous and supervised methodological procedures. Face-to-face interviews were carried out by a contracted and competent survey agency in the given country. The interviewers had to follow the WVS core questionnaire that had previously been translated and back translated from English to the country's official language. Questions in the WVS questionnaire concerned the issues of how often the respondent would talk about politics with their friends, whether they support any volunteer organization, who they would want to have as neighbors, if they would be willing to pay more taxes if the government spent it on saving the environment, and the like. All WVS data from each wave and the questionnaires themselves are available free of charge to anyone at www.worldvaluessurvey.org. The WVS first managed to collect data in three waves from 65 countries on six continents, which covered 75% of the world's population (Inglehart, 1997). With two additional waves since then, there is currently data altogether from 97 societies covering 90% of the world's population (WVS brochure).

Inglehart (1997) analyzed the data for 43 countries and found that the characteristics of the data significantly correlated with, i.e. were the results of, two underlying factors. Inglehart and Baker (2000) later on reduced the 22 items used in Inglehart's original analysis to 10 items (five for each factor) "to minimize the problems of missing data" (Inglehart and Baker, 2000, p. 24) from the WVS questionnaire, and analyzed the data of three waves (65 countries) both on a national aggregate level and at the individual level. Because of their factor analysis, they found that 70% of the data that were different from the average, namely the total cross-cultural variance,

were connected to the two underlying factors previously identified by Inglehart (1997), and were not due to sampling error or response bias. The five items for one factor were on the one side:

1. God is very important in respondent's life.
2. It is more important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination.
3. Abortion is never justifiable.
4. Respondent has strong sense of national pride.
5. Respondent favors more respect for authority.

The five items on the other dimension for one side:

1. Respondent gives priority to economic and physical security over self-expression and quality of life.
2. Respondent describes self as not very happy.
3. Respondent has not signed and would not sign a petition.
4. Homosexuality is never justifiable.
5. You have to be very careful about trusting people.

The high percentage of cross-cultural variation of the 10 variables (items) suggests that the two dimensions proposed by Inglehart (1997) are really at work, that is to say, there exist two underlying tendencies that are reflected in the values, beliefs and motivation of the populations the research samples represents. In addition, Inglehart's dimensional paradigm is based on unprecedentedly wide-ranging results. The two dimensions he identified are called traditional versus secular-rational and survival versus self-expressions. The characteristics of each are spelled out below:

The traditional versus secular-rational dimension

> reflects the contrast between societies in which religion is very important and those in which it is not, but deference to authority of God, Fatherland and Family are all closely linked. The importance of the family is a major theme: In traditional societies a main goal in life is to make one's parents proud – one must always love and respect one's parents, regardless of how they behave. Conversely parents must do their best for their children even if their own well-being suffers. People in traditional societies idealize large families, and they actually have them (high scores of on this dimension are strongly correlated with fertility rates). Yet although the people of traditional societies have high levels of national pride, favor more respect for authority, take protectionist attitudes toward foreign trade, and feel that environmental problems can be solved without international agreements, they accept national authority passively: They seldom or never discuss politics. In pre-industrial societies the family is crucial to survival. Accordingly, societies at the traditional pole of this dimension reject divorce and take a pro-life stance on abortion, euthanasia, and suicide. They emphasize social conformity rather than individualistic striving, believe in absolute standards of good and evil, support deference to authority, and have high levels of

national pride and nationalistic outlook. Societies with secular-rational values have the opposite preferences on all of these topics. (Inglehart and Baker, 2000, p. 25)

Inglehart's survival versus self-expressions dimension

> taps a syndrome of trust, tolerance, subjective well-being, political activism, and self-expression that emerges in postindustrial societies with high levels of security. At the opposite extreme, people in societies shaped by insecurity and low levels of well-being, tend to emphasize economic and physical security above all their other goals, and feel threatened by foreigners, by ethnic diversity and by cultural changes. This leads to an intolerance of gays and other outgroups, an insistence on traditional gender roles, and an authoritarian political outlook.
> A central component of this dimension involves the polarization between materialist and post-materialist values. Extensive evidence indicates that these values tap an intergenerational shift from an emphasis on economic and physical security toward an increased emphasis on self-expression, subjective well-being and quality-of-life concerns (Inglehart, 1977, 1990, 1997). This cultural shift is found throughout advanced industrial society; it emerges among birth cohorts that have grown up under conditions in which survival is taken for granted. These values are linked with growing emphasis on environmental protection, the women's movement, and rising demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life. […]
> Societies that emphasize survival values show relatively low levels of subjective well-being, report relatively poor health, are low on interpersonal trust, relatively intolerant of outgroups, are low on support for gender equality, emphasize materialist values, have relatively high levels of faith in science and technology, are relatively low on environmental activism, and relatively favorable to authoritarian government. Societies high on self-expression values tend to have the opposite preferences on these topics. (Inglehart and Baker, 2000, pp. 25-28)

Inglehart's and his collaborators' work is a landmark in researching values, beliefs and motivation of the people of the world. The sheer amount of data collected at different times undeniably captures the social, socio-cultural and political changes that have taken place over almost 40 years. It is also true that they have 'hard core' evidence (i.e. statistically significant correlations) that proves that his two dimensions are responsible for all other differences in values and beliefs.

There is one main difference from the previously discussed researchers' work, and that is that Inglehart approaches the differences of societies from the perspective of social change and industrial development, and sees cultural differences as a result of the countries being at different developmental stages. Hofstede, Trompenaars and Schwartz, however, focus on cross-cultural differences per se, and as a result have come up with the notion of cultural differences having *some* connection with changes in economic and social characteristics, but according to them, this connection in itself does not explain all the differences that there are between cultures. Hofstede even emphasizes the stability of cultural differences – he does not deny that there are shifts or changes in values in cultures, but he argues that countries shift together towards these changes, thereby maintaining their relative positions on the cultural dimensions compared to each other,

that is, the type of differences between cultures will stay unchanged (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010).

Minkov (2007) examined Inglehart's data closely in his book *What makes us different and similar*, and came up with yet a somewhat different dimensional paradigm explaining cultural differences. After reanalyzing and reinterpreting the WVS data and comparing it with other worldwide data, such as crime rates, birth rates, substance abuse, marriages, divorces, suicides etc. from governments or world organizations, such as World Health Organization (WHO), he identified three dimensions based on factor and correlation analysis. His first dimension is a parallel to Hofstede's *collectivism vs. individualism* dimension, and GLOBE's *societal in-group collectivism*. However, he renamed this dimension *exclusionism versus universalism* because he believes that the in-group collectivism aspect of individualism vs. collectivism has not been properly emphasized in the literature. Minkov remarks that the terms 'individualism' and 'collectivism' are used in the literature to denote "tendencies to do things individually or in groups, or to feelings of personal independence versus group dependence" (Minkov, 2007, p. 52), whereas he thinks of these terms as reflecting "patterns of treatment of people: as individuals or on the basis of their group membership" (Minkov, 2007, p. 52). Furthermore, his claims that the individualism vs. collectivism dimension intends to reflect the difference between the West and the rest of the world, but that the most decisive difference between these two regions is the different criteria for distributing privileges and favors, and this difference is better captured by *exclusionism vs. universalism* than by individualism vs. collectivism. In his opinion based on statistical analysis of the WVS data, the West treats people universally, based on being individuals, whereas the rest of the world treats people discriminatorily, and based on belonging to groups. A good example for this is Minkov's experiment concerning pedestrians crossing the street he carried out throughout the years in several countries. There are those countries (the West) where the drivers take heed, slow down and let the pedestrians cross the street even if they were just daydreaming on the sidewalk. Then there are those countries (non-Western countries) where the drivers do not pay attention to what pedestrians might want to do. Minkov explains this phenomenon with the effect of laying emphasis on in-group and out-group membership differences (collectivist attitude), or treating people on an equal basis (individualist). In an exclusionist society (that is, most non-Western countries) where people are divided into in-groups, and whoever does not belong there is excluded, the pedestrians form another group who are outsiders for the drivers, and therefore are treated accordingly: they deserve no special attention. In universalist cultures (Western countries), the pedestrian is not separated from the driver by being thought of as belonging to the outsiders. He has the same and equal right to be at the crossing, and the drivers treat them as they would treat another vehicle – pay attention to them.

Despite focusing on the in-group and out-group characteristic of the individualism-collectivism dimension, Minkov admits that the other differences between the West and the rest of the world, such as the attitude to personal time, freedom in one's job to decide how to accomplish something, or training opportunities and working conditions, might better be described by the terms individualism and collectivism. Therefore, he uses both pairs of terms to describe "conceptually different aspects of one and the same bipolar cultural dimension" (Minkov, 2007, p. 52). He focused his attention on items from the WVS on 'agreeableness' (a big five personality trait); direct or oblique communication; language usage; substance abuse; extroversion and hobbies; earned vs. ascribed status; punctuality and perception of time; adherence to agreements; product quality; safety measures and practices; rule orientation and the "rule of law"; nepotism, corruption and preferential treatment of friends; business results vs. concern for relationship; volunteer work; gender egalitarianism; tolerance; protection of the environment; empathy for strangers and concern for the welfare of people in society at general; and in-group cohesiveness. Based on these Minkov's definition for *exclusionism*

> […] is the cultural tendency to treat people on the basis of their group affiliation and reserve favors, services, privileges, and sacrifices for friends, relatives or other groups that one identifies with, while excluding outsiders from the circle of those who deserve such privileged treatment. While exclusionists often strive to achieve harmony and good relationship within their own group, they may be quite indifferent, inconsiderate, rude, and sometimes even hostile, toward members of other groups. (Minkov, 2007, p. 101)

Minkov's second dimension very strongly correlates with Inglehart's *survival vs. well-being* dimension, but as it covers issues that have not been approached as far as forming a unit of cultural dimension, Minkov uses the label *indulgence vs. restraint* instead of Inglehart's term. In very simplified terms, this dimension captures the extent to how happy people feel in certain cultures – subjective well-being, as psychology puts it. Minkov was able to show from the WVS items on satisfaction in life and on the extent to feeling happy that the mean answers of countries are connected to how much life control, leisure and freedom people feel they have in their society. If they feel that they are free to choose what to do, how to spend money, and have fun, then they tend to report feeling happy.

Another characteristic of indulgent societies is that becoming a parent is usually not a social must, and child-rearing practices tend to be permissive, e.g. kids are allowed to run around in socks without shoes on or put their legs up on tables and sofas. On the other hand, there are the so-called restraining cultures where happiness is not reported as a dominant feeling, and people tend to think that having fun, spending money and enjoying leisure activities are somehow wrong. Furthermore, child-rearing norms are dominated by prohibitions, e.g. instructions to children such

as “don’t wriggle”, “stop humming”, “don’t take off your hat” etc. prevail, which attitude is persisted on by strict rules in schools and laws in adult life later on. Other elements of the dimension of indulgence vs. restraint include how healthy the citizens feel, how much overtime they are willing to do at work, how high the obesity rates are among the population, how long they accept delaying gratification and how thrifty they are willing to be. Finally, when extracting this dimension from the data, Minkov also took into consideration the extent of the freedom of sexual practices and the rates of violent crime. Minkov’s definition of *indulgence* then reads as:

> […] a tendency to allow relatively free gratification of some desires and feelings, especially those that have to do with leisure, merrymaking with friends, spending and consumption, casual sex and sexual networking, indulgence result in a greater incidence of some types of impulsive violent crime, especially rape and assault. In the rich world, it also predicts higher illegal substance abuse. Indulgence tends to boost happiness and create a perception of freedom, health, and control over life. (Minkov, 2007, pp. 148-149)

Minkov’s third dimension also showed strong correlation with Inglehart’s *traditional vs. secular-rational* values. Despite this fact, he named it *monumentalism vs. ‘flexumility’ (flexibility).* The term *monumentalism* refers to those cultures where personality is thought of as a stable, never changing entity, like a monolithic monument. The other extreme of this dimension, flexumility is a coinage from the expressions of *self-flexibility* and *humility,* referring to personality as a plastic entity. These labels were chosen to reflect the fact that Minkov bases his interpretation of the WVS data on Heine’s (2003 as cited in Minkov, 2007) theory of self-enhancement (vs. self-effacement) and self-stability (vs. flexibility). The logic behind this is that if one’s personality is not subject to change since it is a stable entity, but it might be deficient, there is an unbearable cognitive dissonance experienced by the people nurturing this value. The solution to this issue of cognitive dissonance is self-enhancement, which means regarding and putting oneself in better light than actually one is. Those who believe to have flexible and malleable personalities, on the other hand, do not feel the need to inflate their self-regards, because they believe there are other tools with which they can improve themselves.

As there are no worldwide data on self-enhancement practices, Minkov decided to use the item of the WVS database on national pride, as the geographical distribution of the latter is the same as that of self-enhancement (Spencer-Rodgers, Peng, Wang, and Hou, 2004, as cited in Minkov, 2007). He again included other items in his analysis for this third cultural dimension, such as the importance of making one’s parents proud, the role of religion in one’s life, and the need to provide service to others. According to Minkov’s analysis, spending and tipping practices are also nurtured by self-enhancement. These tendencies are rooted in the importance attributed to pride, and those cultures value spending and tipping whose members feel the need to be viewed as

successful individuals. Being able to spend money above daily necessities, or tipping generously in restaurants projects a picture that one is successful in life, and they are proud to show it. What is more, helping others is part of a need to make a good impression on others, which is again rooted in pride. For when one helps someone in need, one becomes the hero. This in turn boosts one's public image, which is self-enhancement proper.

There seems to be a connection with suicide rates as well for Minkov's third dimension of indulgence vs. restraint, in as much as less suicide is reported in monumentalist cultures, presumably because people see themselves in these cultures in a more positive light due to self-enhancement practices than people in flexumility cultures. In addition, according to the statistical analysis of the WVS data, the amount of pride one feels and the strength of family connections are more responsible for preventing suicide than the degree of happiness and life satisfaction reported.

Among other characteristics, monumentalist cultures do not acculturate to foreign environments easily. For them values and beliefs must remain immutable, since they form the core of their personality, the monolithic monument. In connection with the monolithic tendency are the facts that monumentalists tend to protect their countries and cultures from foreigners and they prefer to believe there is a clear-cut line between good and evil. The latter characteristic is called absolutist thinking, as only the extreme ends of a continuum are taken into consideration. In addition, paradoxes are not favored by these cultures, as they would require the abandonment of absolutist thinking. Uncritical obedience to and respect for authority are features that are connected to the nature of absolutist thinking as well. In other words, if one thinks there is only one right way, one is more susceptible to believe without questioning what the authorities claim. Strong religiousness is also connected to this attitude of absolutist thinking of monumentalism, as it reflects the need to have one exclusive way – the right way – to see the world, the purpose of life and how to behave in it. In addition, religion is important for monumentalist cultures because it claims that people will live forever. This again nurtures the view that personality is an unchangeable entity.

Finally, monumentalist cultures favor interpersonal competition as opposed to cooperation, because they see it as a great opportunity to show personal superiority over others. Surprisingly, if the competition results in failure for them, they do not consider it as a failure of their personality – as it would again create a huge cognitive dissonance – rather, they say that in that particular field they did not succeed, but there are others where they can be good. Their belief in the stability of self is maintained by changing the activity, as opposed to changing themselves, whereas in flexumility cultures, people tend to extend failure to their personality, saying, if they were not good at something, they might need improvement in themselves to be good at anything. They react to failure by changing their personality, and not by avoiding the unsuccessful activity.

Performance orientation goes hand in hand with competition, but only at the surface level. In effect, monumentalism – believing that personality is stable – results in weaker overall educational achievement, but in claiming the importance of achievement. The latter, however, is not real achievement, Minkov claims, but bold statements in the various surveys to questions that intended to tap the attitude of people to the importance of achievement. Since people in monumentalist cultures tend to enhance their personality, to inflate their value, they will claim performance to be important without actually performing the achievements they claim to be essential.

Considering the above data, Minkov defined his *monumentalism* as follows:

> This cultural dimension stands for pride and high-self regard, demonstration of status and generosity with money, favors and services, a willingness to show superiority through interpersonal competition, avoidance of dialectical feelings and thoughts, consistency between feelings and their outward expressions, and acceptance of one right set of norms and beliefs imposed by people in authority, including greater religiousness. One of the results of this combination is poor achievement in self-improvement activities that require persistence. (Minkov, 2007, p. 204)

Minkov's work is very impressive and very convincing in as much as he cites the actual items he used from the WVS data or the other data sources. He definitely succeeds in illustrating cultural differences in detail with examples that bring the cultures in question very close to the reader. However, the characteristic stepping-stones of each dimension are somewhat arbitrary and difficult to put together at once. Therefore, one feels that three dimensions cannot be enough to describe all that diversity in the world. It is therefore very fortunate that Hofstede teamed up with Minkov to publish his third and extended edition of *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (2010), and that Minkov's *indulgence vs. restraint dimension* is added to Hofstede's five better-known dimensions on Hofstede's website, thus forming a digestible and manageable paradigm for describing cultural differences in the world.

Finally yet importantly, the work of Triandis has to be mentioned. He started out as an engineer from Greece, dived into social psychology at graduate studies in Canada, and has been an influential personality in establishing cross cultural psychology within the framework of the American Psychological Association (APA), the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAAP), and was the founding member of the International Association of Cross Cultural Psychology (IACCP) in 1972 (Triandis, 2002a). In addition, he revised Hofstede's *Culture's consequences* back in 1980 and recommended its publication (Triandis, 2002a).

Triandis started to work in psychology when culture was considered to be "out there", i.e. outside the psychology of the personality, and mainstream psychologists thought of it as being outside the scope of their studies, and left it for cultural anthropologist (Triandis, 2004). What is more, their research intended to arrive at results which were universal. Only a few researchers, who had a multicultural and multilingual background, one of them being Triandis, felt that the findings they were reading in scientific journals would not make sense in X culture. Though the followers of Vigotsky and Leontiev already adopted the view that culture is within the person, only when a few mainstream psychologists were convinced that indeed there are major cultural differences in the way people think, feel and are motivated, did psychology embrace a cultural attitude in research.

One of the results of this shift was Triandis' research on what "culture" is within the team of the University of Illinois. He went on sabbatical to collect data in Greece, India, Japan and the USA (Triandis, 2002a). He established that there is subjective and objective culture and his "analysis of subjective culture"

> included aspects of what is now called cultural psychology, such as the analysis of the meaning of emic concepts, changes in the meanings of concepts, and examining one culture in detail, and cross-cultural psychology, such as equivalence of measurement of etic constructs, examination of universals of meaning, and examining many cultures in one study. (Triandis, 2002a, p. 2)

Subjective culture includes language categorizations, evaluations, beliefs, attitudes, stereotypes, expectations, norms, ideals, roles, task definitions, and values (Triandis, 2002b) as opposed to *objective culture* which consists of the concrete and observable elements of culture, for example, artifacts, institutions and social structures (Triandis, 2007).

As a continuation of his defining subjective culture, the Culture Assimilator training program was developed for the US Navy by the team at the University of Illinois (Friedler, Mitchell and Triandis, 1971). This training program combined the study of leadership with interpersonal communication, the connection of culture and social behavior together with computerized learning. Some members of the Navy were sent to the target culture after participating in the Cultural Assimilator training, some were assigned without the training. Tests showed that those who had training before departure were better at handling foreign situations, their communication was more effective and they felt more comfortable in the foreign environment, though the original aim of becoming ambassadors of their culture – as the US Navy intended it – was not achieved (Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis, 1971). The cultural assimilator was developed for the Arab countries, Iran, Thailand, Central America, and Greece, based on Triandis' research on what constitutes subjective culture (Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis, 1971).

Triandis went further than defining culture as constituting of the parts he termed objective and subjective. He established the term *cultural syndromes* to refer to the operational construct that can be systematically probed, which is the basis of reliable research, instead of the general idea of *culture*, which proved to be a quite complicated construct to measure (Triandis, 2002a). Although Triandis uses a different term, it essentially describes the same phenomenon that Hofstede and the previously mentioned researchers have been researching. Triandis' work is not only significant because he was among the firsts to highlight the pervasive nature of culture, but he claims that the importance of cultural syndromes lies in the fact that they enable us to focus, and forget the difficulties we encounter with the construct of *culture*. According to Triandis, 'cultural syndromes'

> consist of shared attitudes, beliefs, norms, and values found among those who speak a particular language dialect, in a specific geographic region, during a particular historic period. The shared elements of subjective culture are organized around a theme, such as complexity, or the importance of the collective. Cultural syndromes provide a focus, so that we can get out of the fuzzy construct of "culture" and into a construct that we can probe systematically. (Triandis, 2002a, p. 4)

Among the syndromes, we find *cultural complexity, tightness, individualism and collectivism, vertical and horizontal cultures, active-passive cultures, universalism-particularism, diffuse-specific, ascription-achievement, instrumental-expressive, emotional expression or suppression.* These are elaborated below:

> *Cultural complexity,* e.g., hunters and gatherers versus information societies. The size of settlements is one of the best ways to index cultural complexity (6, 1997).
>
> *Tightness*. Tight cultures have many rules, norms, and ideas about what is correct behavior in different kinds of situations; loose cultures have fewer rules and norms. In the former cultures also, people become quite upset when others do not follow the norms of the society, and may even kill those who do not behave as is expected, while in the latter cultures people are tolerant of most deviations from normative behaviors. In Japan, which is a tight culture, people are sometimes criticized for minor deviations from norms, such as having too much of a suntan, or having curly hair (Kidder, 1992). Most Japanese live in fear that they will not act properly (Iwao, 1993).
>
> *Individualism and collectivism*. Triandis (1994) has suggested that individualism emerges in societies that are both complex and loose; collectivism in societies that are both simple and tight. For example, theocracies or monasteries are both tight and relatively poor; Hollywood stars live in a culture that is both complex and loose. This speculation has not been tested rigorously, but the data seem to hang together reasonably well so that it may be the case that, for instance, Japan that is now quite complex is less collectivist that the Japan of the 19th century.
>
> *Vertical and horizontal cultures*. Vertical cultures accept hierarchy as a given. People are different from each other. Hierarchy is a natural state. Those at the top "naturally"

have more power and privileges than those of the bottom of the hierarchy. Horizontal cultures accept equality as a given. People are basically similar, and if one is to divide any resource, it should be done equally.

Active-passive cultures. In active cultures, individuals try to change the environment to fit them; in passive cultures people change themselves to fit into the environment. Active cultures are more competitive, action-oriented, and emphasize self-fulfillment; those characterized as more passive are more cooperative, emphasize the experience of living, and are especially concerned with getting along with others.

Universalism-particularism. In universalist cultures people try to treat others on the basis of universal criteria (e.g., all competent persons regardless of who they are in sex, age, race, etc. are acceptable employees); in particularist cultures people treat others on the basis of who the other person is (e.g., I know Joe Blow and he is a good person, so he will be a good employee).

Diffuse-specific. Diffuse cultures respond to the environment in a holistic manner (e.g., I do not like your report means I do not like you). Specific cultures discriminate different aspects of the stimulus complex. (e.g., I do not like your report says nothing about how much I like you).

Ascription-achievement People can judge others on the basis of ascribed attributes, such as sex, race, family membership, etc. These are attributes people are born with. By contrast, people might judge others in terms of achieved attributes, such as skill, publications, awards.

Instrumental-expressive. People may sample more heavily attributes that are instrumental (e.g., get the job done) or expressive (e.g., enjoy the social relationship).

Emotional expression or suppression. People may express their emotions freely, no matter what the consequences, or they may control the expression of emotion. (Triandis, 2002a)

His other research interest includes the connection of psychology and culture, i.e. the universality of personality traits. He researched whether the Big Five personality trait model, which had actually been based on a western sample but is applied by psychologists world-wide, can indeed be universally applied, or caution should be taken (Triandis and Suh, 2002). His research showed that even though some researchers claim (Bruner, 1974; Shweder, 1991 as cited in Triandis and Suh, 2002) that there are no predictable consequences of child-rearing practices on personality development, or that individual differences do not necessarily generalize across contexts, i.e. across situations, there indeed are universal aspects of variation of personality. These are neuroticism, extraversion, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness (McCrae et al. 2000). Furthermore, some of Triandis' cultural syndromes were proven to correspond to culture specific personality traits (Triandis and Suh, 2002). For example, according to a model of culture and personality by Church (2000), personality traits are universal, but account for specific elements in behavior less in collectivist than in individualist cultures. Another aspect where the

universal has culture-specific representation is cognitive consistency, i.e. the harmony between one's attitude and beliefs and one's behavior. The phenomenon of cognitive consistency does occur universally, but it is not as emphasized in collectivist cultures as in individual ones (Triandis and Suh, 2002).

Furthermore, Triandis (2004) emphasizes the interrelatedness of some dimensions and syndromes. As he puts it, some dimensions are "primary" (Triandis, 2004, p. 90) and others that Hofstede found, or the ones Triandis works with, are connected to these primary dimensions. For instance, he argues that Hofstede's power distance has interaction with the individualism-collectivism dimension and results in horizontal individualist (HI) cultures, such as the Scandinavian ones where "sticking out" is not encouraged but people still want to do their own thing, and vertical individualist (VI) ones, such as the US culture is, where competition and being the best and noticed by others is encouraged. Triandis applies the same subdivision for collectivist cultures, where a horizontally collectivist (HC) community is represented by the example of the Israeli kibbutz, and the vertical collectivist (VC) ones are the traditional cultures of rural China and India. There are connections between wealth and individualism, i.e. the more affluent a country is, the more individualist its population tends to be; or preferred leadership styles, i.e. bosses in collectivist cultures tend to focus more on their relationship with employees rather than only on their results and output. Other parallels can be detected between Hall's high vs. low context dimensions in as much as according to data from Triandis collectivist cultures focus more on context than on content. He cites the example when in 1991 Secretary of State James Baker told the Iraqis "We will attack you if you do not get out of Kuwait," and they were surprised when the Americans did attack, as they were not angry when this statement was delivered. Obviously, the Iraqis did not focus on the content of the statement primarily.

Triandis also sees Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance dimension (UAI) as connected to his tight and loose cultural syndrome. Tight cultures prefer strict rules and norms, and standards for 'appropriate' behavior. This usually happens in highly populated cultures where it helps regulate behavior in order to maintain social order. This syndrome is related to uncertainty in as much as cultures being afraid of uncertainty tend to prefer a structured life and exact rules for codes of behavior in order to avoid surprises. In tight/uncertainty avoiding cultures "predictability of events is highly valued" (Triandis, 2004, p. 92).

Finally yet importantly, Triandis' work is also important from the point of view of the level of analysis. Whereas Hofstede focused on the cultural level, Triandis included analysis on the individual level in his research as well (Triandis and Suh, 2002; Triandis, 2004). As a result, he was able to show that though individualism and collectivism are on the opposite poles at the cultural level, this is not the case at the individual level. For instance, if a person is brought up in a

collectivist culture, but then spends several years in and individualist culture, he is high on both of these aspects. As a consequence, he would better adjust to different situations. Furthermore, Triandis found that both in individualist and collectivist cultures there are people who think, feel and behave like people in individualist societies (idiocentric). It is only the ration of such type of people in the two different cultures that differentiates them at the cultural level. Individualist cultures are built up from 35-100% idiocentric people and 0-35% allocentric ones. The ratios are the opposite for collectivist cultures. These results are important from the point of view of training and taking individual differences into consideration that will help avoid stereotyping.

Table 1 summarizes the above discussion to enable a quick review of the work of Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010) Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), Hall (1976), Schwartz and Sagiv (2000), the ESS (Davidov, 2008), the GLOBE study (House et al, 2004), Inglehart (1997), Minkov (2007) and Triandis (2004). It includes their aim of research, the applied methods of data collection and analysis, and the type and size of their sample. The table also lists the names of the cultural dimensions the different researchers came up or worked with. The table does not include the work of the replication studies of Hofstede (e.g. Hoppe, 1990), or the review by Sondergaard (1994), as the former followed in Hofstede's footsteps, and the latter is an analysis of citations, reviews and applications confirming the findings of Hofstede, and neither contributes a new system, model or approach to researching cultural values. (Since the table occupies three pages, the legend and list of abbreviations used can be found on the last page.)

	Author's perspective and aim	Methods of data collection	Methods of data analysis	Sample	Instruments	Names of resulting dimensions
Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov (2010)	Organizational psychologist, human resources expert To map reasons for different output of IBM subsidiaries around the world	Work related values survey, IBM	Factor analysis individual and group level analysis	117,000 white, middle class, IBM workers 1967-73 (and additional rounds of data collection later)	Questionnaire, currently known as Value Survey Module (VSM)	IDV-COLL; PDI; MAS-FEM; UAI; LTO-STO
Hall (1973, 1976)	Cultural anthropologist To map societies' relation to context, time and space	Incidents, stories	Qualitative, descriptive analysis	US foreign aid workers in the 1950s and 60s	Not reported (interviews probably)	High vs. Low Context; Polychronic vs. monochronic; High vs. low territoriality
Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1998)	Organizational expert Consultant practices, to identify key business issues that relate to cultural differences	Questionnaire survey	Statistical procedures	circa 65,000 organizational managers	Questionnaire with diagnostic questions (1) either eliciting values, (2) forced choice between two value statements, or (3) choose among five possible positions	universalism vs. particularism; individualism vs. communitarianism; affectivity vs. neutrality; specificity vs. diffuseness; achievement vs. ascription; time orientation (sequential or non-sequential) *and* relation to nature (inner or outer oriented)
Sagiv & Schwartz, (2000), Schwartz (1999)	Cross-cultural psychologist To identify universal values in all cultures	Questionnaire surveys	Smallest space analyses (SSA), a form of multidimensional scaling technique (MDST)	88 samples across 40 countries; 60,000 teachers and students from 63 countries	9-point scale questionnaire on 56 value items	Basic individual values theory: 10 motivationally distinct types of values, recognized implicitly in all cultures; Cultural level: (1) the relationship of the individual and the group; (2) the guarantee of responsible behavior in order to uphold the social structure; and (3) the relationship of human kind to nature Resulting dimensions: (1) embeddedness vs. (intellectual and affective) autonomy, (2) hierarchy vs. egalitarian commitment, and (3) mastery vs. harmony

	Author's perspective & aim	Methods of data collection	Methods of data analysis	Sample	Instruments	Names of resulting dimensions
ESS (Davidov, 2008)	Group of social scientists how social attitudes, values, attributes and behavior patterns change in Europe.	data collected every two years since 2001 from one hour-long interview with respondents	Statistical procedures	Nationally representative and random sample (15+ age) from altogether over 30 countries, each round of data collection having a different number of participating countries.	Questionnaire with core content and supplementary content different with each round of data collection	Trust in institutions; National, ethnic, religious identity; Political engagement; Well-being, health and security; Socio-political values; Demographic composition; Moral and social values; Education and occupation; Social capital; Financial circumstances; Social exclusion; Household circumstances
GLOBE (House et al. 2004)	Group of social scientists surveyed values in 3 Phases; 1: the design and testing of the research instruments, 2: definition and assessment of nine basic characteristics of societal and organizational cultures, 3: currently being carried out; measures how the subordinates' attitudes and performance may be affected by the impact and effectiveness of certain leadership behaviors and styles of CEOs.	Literature review; interviews with focus groups Questionnaire survey	Factor analysis	62 countries 17,000 middle managers from food processing, telecommunications and financial services.	2 questionnaires leadership attributes societal and organizational culture 7-point Likert scale 'as is' items and 'should be' items	Uncertainty avoidance; Power distance; Collectivism I, Institutional collectivism; Collectivism II, In-group collectivism, Gender egalitarianism; Assertiveness; Future orientation; Performance orientation; Human orientation
Inglehart (1997) WVS	Researching basic values and beliefs and their relationship to socio-cultural and political change	Face-to-face interviews following strict questionnaire procedures	Factor analysis	Data from 3 waves, altogether 97 societies covering 90% of the world's population Random probability samples	Ranking items	Traditional vs. secular-rational survival vs. self-expressions
Minkov (2007)	Translator, organization researcher Revising existing cultural dimension frameworks	WVS data, WHO data, GDP, GNP, official statistical databases from countries (birth rates, death rates, crime rates, marriages, etc.)	Factor analysis	Representative of countries whose statistics he included in his analysis	-	Exclusionism vs. universalism; Indulgence vs. restraint; monumentalism vs. flexumility

	Author's perspective and aim	Methods of data collection	Methods of data analysis	Sample	Instruments	Names of resulting dimensions
Triandis (2004)	Cross cultural psychologist researching "culture", the relationship of culture and personality	Interviews, surveys, literature reviews	Content analysis, factor analysis	Greece, India, Japan and the USA	IND/COLL instrument	Cultural complexity; tightness; individualism and collectivism; vertical and horizontal cultures; active-passive cultures; universalism-particularism; diffuse-specific; ascription-achievement; instrumental-expressive; emotional expression or suppression

Table 1. Overview of cultural value orientation studies with respect to their research characteristics.

Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, VSM: Value Survey Model; SSA: smallest space analyses; MDST: Multidimensional Scaling Technique; WVS: World Values Survey: WHO: World Health Organization; GDP: gross domestic product; GNP: gross national product.

The work of Hofstede (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010), Hall (1976), Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), Triandis (2002a), Inglehart (1997), Minkov (2007), the ESS survey (Davidov, 2008), the GLOBE project (House et al. 2004), and many others who have not been mentioned here has proved that it is indeed possible to come closer to the phenomenon of cultural diversity with the help of cultural dimensions. The literature review showed that the field is not only diverse but also lucrative concerning theory, paradigm, methods and results. Researchers have been either influencing (Hofstede, 1980; Minkov, 2007; Trompenaars, 1995; Triandis, 2002), or fighting each other (Hofstede and McCrae, 2004; Trompenaars, 1995; House et al. 2004), but all of them have been working around the same goal. It is true that if culture were an elephant and we were blind, or we have not seen such an animal before, we would not be able to visualize it or comprehend all its characteristics. Nevertheless, if we put together all the small pieces that we could reach and touch, it would be possible to identify the main features of the elephant.

Hofstede's first few publications lacked the details of his methods of data collection and analysis (Hofstede, 1980, 1991, etc.). As a result, some researchers are not at all convinced that the cultural dimensions paradigm based on national cultures that Hofstede presents is indeed valid (see reviews of criticisms in Oshlyansky et al., 2006; Fougere and Moulettes, 2006; Kirkman, Lowe and Gibson, 2006; Boyacigiller et al., 2002). Most criticism concerns the data collecting methods and the methods of analysis, and the influence of researcher bias (Oshlyansky et al. 2006; Fougere and Moulettes, 2006). Cray and Mallory (1998) for instance, disapprove of Hofstede's work for his dimensional definitions being vague, lacking basic theory, using data from 1967-1973 – which is considered time-worn for the critics – and drawing on a less than perfect sample, that is, a limited sample from a single multinational company consisting of mostly Caucasian marketing and salesmen. Holden (2002) does not agree with Hofstede's view of national culture as a homogenous, static and historically determined entity, and encourages that it would be much more relevant for cultural research to observe interactions directly for research purposes, as these would provide more guidance on how people actually behave with foreign visitors or how they cope with situations when abroad (Cray and Mallory, 1998). This is indeed what the field of intercultural interaction research is set out to achieve (Boyacigiller et al., 2002). Kwek (2003) agrees with Holden in that Hofstede's culture definition is too static, and he goes on adding that Hofstede's cross-cultural management is nothing less than colonial discourse because Hofstede "fails to question 'the ethnocentric origins of his own dimensions or methodology'" (Kwek, 2003, p. 3). Finally, McSweeney (2002) comments that Hofstede never acknowledged any weaknesses or errors of his work, and that the methodology applied only contributes to the reproduction of ethnocentrism in as much as researcher bias had not been controlled for properly.

The conclusion is that Hofstede proposes a status quo of the world when he claims that the hierarchical positions of countries compared to each other has always been the same, and will remain similar in the future as well.

Fougere and Moulettes (2006) themselves criticize Hofstede (and the whole field of cross-cultural management) for institutionalizing "the West as a world savior by exporting its founding principles, such as democracy, economic development, advanced technology and science," (Fougere and Moulettes, 2006, p. 16) and the rest of the world as a "developmental failure" (ibid.) by accepting cross cultural management discourse as legitimate knowledge despite the many faults of the methodology and validity of Hofstede's research, and the theory of culture which was built upon it. This opinion, which could be labeled and dismissed as subjective, is, however, supported by Boyacigiller et al. (2002), who refer to a review of articles published in the Journal of International Business Studies by Thomas, Shenkar and Clarke which showed that the main research sites for the 25 years of the existence of the journal had been confined to the G-7 countries. In addition, Boyacigiller and Adler (2001) highlight the following:

> Today, between 15 and 30 of the world's 185 countries possess most of its scientific knowledge, while representing less than one third of its population (von Alleman, 1974). If most science is practiced in fewer than 30 countries, all social science is practiced in fewer still, and all organizational science in still fewer (Roberts and Boyacigiller, 1984:425). The vast majority of management schools are in the United States. The majority of management professors and researchers are American trained. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the vast majority of management research focuses on the United States (see Gerge, 1973, for similar trends in psychological theory). Lawrence (1987:2-3) cited 30 key contributions in the development of organizational science, only 5 of which were contributed by non-Americans (6 if Kurt Lewin is included). Additionally, all five of the non-U.S. researchers are European; none are from outside of the occidental tradition (see Adler, Doktor, and Redding, 1986). (Boyacigiller and Adler, 2001, p. 267)

Measuring culture is not at all a piece of cake, which can be seen from the diverse definitions of culture itself, the assorted methods used to research it, and the criticisms of the various approaches from differing fields of science (see Boyacigiller et al., 2002). In response to the criticisms, Hofstede stresses that

> dimensions of cultures do not exist in a tangible sense. They are constructs. A construct is "not directly accessible to observation but inferable from verbal statements and other behaviors and useful in predicting still other observable and measurable verbal and nonverbal behavior" (Teresa Levitin, 1973). Culture itself is a construct, so are values. It makes no sense asking how many dimensions of culture there are. This is like asking how many types of cloud exist - it is a matter of definition, and practical significance should be the criterion. (Hofstede website, chapter on Research and VSM http://www.geerthofstede.com/research--vsm.aspx)

Hofstede also emphasizes the need for properly matched samples (Hofstede, 1991, 2001), and that what he did was a *comparative* study when he came across the hierarchical ranking of countries in the IBM data. Many studies that had set out to verify or replicate his results either did not include enough countries in their sample, or used Hofstede's dimensional framework as a theoretical starting point for their research (whereas Hofstede found the dimensions *after* analyzing the data), and/or analyzed their data at a different level, i.e. individual versus country level (Sondergaard, 1994). Hofstede, however, argues that:

> because they are found with the help of statistical methods, dimensions can only be detected on the basis of comparative information from a number of countries. […] A dimension groups together a number of phenomena in a society that were empirically found to occur in combination, regardless of whether there seems to be a logical necessity for their going together. (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005, p. 24)

Thus, if the sample analyzed is representative of the world's population (or a segment thereof, i.e. matched in all other criteria except for countries), the subgroups of the analysis will be countries. However, if the sample includes only one country, the subgroups compared will be minorities of that country, or any groups, for example Catholics and Protestants.

The question of levels of analysis being essential has been admitted by Hofstede himself (Hofstede, 1995). It was mentioned earlier that he himself analyzed the IBM data at the individual level first, and moved onto country level analysis only later on (Hofstede, 1995). He explained this shift of focus of analysis by research trends of the different social sciences, where using one level of analysis or the other seems to be a particular trend for a given field of science. Using a different level of analysis in the given field might not be as obvious as it seems. Nevertheless, using data from one level of analysis (e.g. cultural) at another level (e.g. individual) is a mistake that does not reflect the reasons behind the actual phenomena being researched. To put it differently, cultural characteristics, or the central tendencies for the country as Hofstede puts it, cannot account for each and every individual's behavioral patterns (Dahl, 2005). Hofstede warns that dimensions have to be measured on a cultural level and compared between several cultures, since the logic of the individual is not the same as the logic of the society (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005). Although the personality of an individual uses the learned software of his or her (national) culture mixed with his or her own mental programs, i.e. personal culture, the cultural characteristics are not to be employed for simple "cultural determinism" (Parry, 1996, p. 690), or stereotyping. It cannot be reasonably claimed that if one person comes from a collectivist culture, then he/she will definitely behave in this or that manner. Therefore, ecological fallacy, the above-mentioned mistake of applying one level data at another, is a danger in using comparative cultural research of cultures, and it may lead to strengthening stereotypical thinking (Dahl, 2005). However, it is the researcher's responsibility to draw attention to the unavoidable individual

differences of the members of the sample analyzed while highlighting the central tendencies that the sample represents.

Though Triandis (1972, 2002a), Schwartz (Smith, Peterson and Schwartz, 2002) and also Hofstede and McCrae (2004) did some research on relating cultural dimensions and personality traits, Boyacigiller et al. (2002) draw the attention to the lack of mid-range studies and theoretical explanation as to what actual effect cultural values have on behavior in and of organizations/groups/nations. Gibson and Earley (1998, p. 301) forcefully emphasize that arguments that "collectivist are more group oriented than individualists, therefore, we hypothesize that collectivists will enjoy teamwork more than individualist" is unacceptable (cited in Boyacigiller et al. 2002, p. 14), as there is no proof of causal relationship between dimensional position and actual behavior of people. However, this is a reiteration of fears that Hofstede himself addressed in warning about ecological fallacy, as explained above.

To sum up the criticism and/or problems of researching cultural values and cultural dimensions, a review done by Kirkman, Lowe and Gibson (2006) is cited. They analyzed 180 articles published in 40 different business and psychology journals in addition to two international annual volumes in order to see what kind of effect a quarter of a century of Hofstede's *Culture's consequences* had in the field of cross cultural research. Their review found that these studies considered culture either as a main effect responsible for associations between values and outcomes, or as a moderator. The review also found that the data analysis methods of the reviewed studies were mixed, inasmuch as some were carried out at the individual level of analysis, some at group/organization level, and some at the country level. Kirkman, Lowe and Gibson (2000) summarize the problems of the research attempts that built on Hofstede's paradigm as follows:

> Reviewing the body of research that was inspired by Hofstede's (1980a) framework, at least three general statements can be made. First, cultural values have pervasive direct and moderating effects at each of the four levels of analysis for a variety of different criterion variables. Second, the specific level of analysis being investigated does impact the type of findings that are obtained in these studies. **Finally, causal relationships are seldom demonstrated in this domain of research and thus causal claims should be interpreted with extreme caution** (2000:34; emphasis added) (as cited in Boyacigiller et al. (2002, pp. 10-11).

One possible solution or trend for further research in cultural values in light of the criticisms is to look at culture from a social constructivist point of view as an entity negotiated in a given situation with the given participants (Boyacigiller et al., 2002). It is this culture negotiating process that enables participants to make sense of their social world in the given intercultural situation, which, however, is fed from past cultural experience. The present dissertation claims to be able to add to this future research trend by making a closer connection of

cultural value orientation studies and intercultural competence development within the framework of foreign language pedagogy.

Another solution to the problem of finding out how culture actually influences individual behavior is by combining quantitative research methods with qualitative ones, i.e. fine-tuning the central tendencies of statistical analyses by describing the context of the data collection environment more, as it is also suggested by Boyacigiller et al., (2002), or Thomas (as cited in Topcu, 2005). Additional thick description (Geertz, 1973) to general tendencies done on a large-scale sample with the involvement of multi-national research teams would be ideal. This view is further emphasized by Peng, Peterson and Shyi (1991) advocate the "qualitative evaluation of degree of similarity between [research] sites and translations, with specific information about differences, is necessary" (p. 105). The authors believe that it is only with a combined approach that we can improve the investigation and understanding of a phenomenon that has "holistic, naturalistic and inductive" (p. 105) aspects at the same time.

On the whole, it is clear that researching cultural dimensions and/or values seems to be bound by certain problems in the area of measurement, for example capturing the exact construct, or research design, namely controlling for researcher bias. It may nonetheless prove helpful in the field of intercultural communication by indicating possible future intercultural problems, prognosticating intercultural conflicts, or advising on how to avoid or handle such conflicts.

2.3 Intercultural communication

In as much as communication is a social interaction (Canale, 1983), when people communicate, their whole network of social and personal values, norms and behavior come into play. When the participants are from different countries, such communication is titled intercultural (Gudykunst, 2003). Business management has already emphasized the importance of intercultural communication (Buckley, 2000), where a direct link is seen to exist between profit and the competence needed in intercultural communicative situations. It has also been proposed that with the help of targeted tasks (Utley, 2000; Stringer and Cassidy, 2003) linguistically and non-linguistically rooted misunderstandings may possibly be overcome when communicating in another language. The abundance of intercultural communication trainings in business management curricula reflect that an essential question has been addressed (Planken, 2004).

Chick (1996) in his essay titled *Intercultural communication* claims that the sources of miscommunication are generally the differences between value systems, the configuration of social relations and the dominant ideologies. With this attitude, he is closer to anthropologists than linguists. He distinguishes between cross-cultural studies, focusing on particular features of communication within and across cultures, and intercultural studies that deal with a number of

features of two cultural systems as they are used in a particular intercultural encounter. It should be noted that even though he writes mostly about verbal communication, he considers himself to be an advocate of intercultural communication, not a pragmatist, which seems to indicate that intercultural communication for him is a wider field than pragmatics.

Chick explains one source of miscommunication with sociolinguistic transfer. This term refers to the event when one uses the "rules of the speaking in one's own speech community or cultural group when interacting with members of another community or group" (Chick, 1996, p. 332). The differences of sociolinguistics rules can result in situations where somebody makes a compliment and though a certain response is expected, it is not given. This causes a rupture in the flow of communication signs and hinders the communication of meaning and intent. It might even end in total abandonment of the conversation.

Byram (1989), Byram and Fleming (1998), Brown (2000), Kramsch (1993), Lázár, (2006) and Holló (2008) focus on the phenomenon of communication between cultures from the point of view of how it should be addressed in foreign language education and teacher training. According to them, the aim of foreign language teaching should not be achieving the native speaker communicative competence anymore (Kramsch, 1993), but the focus should be on the intercultural speaker, who "is able to establish a relationship between their own and other cultures, to mediate and explain difference – and ultimately to accept that difference and see the common humanity beneath it" (Byram and Fleming, 1998, p. 8). Research in the field of second language acquisition established earlier that learning another language also means creating another identity through which one can assure effective communication and functioning in the new social environment (Brown, 2000). Kramsch (1993) and Holló and Lázár (2000) also mention that language teaching has neglected culture, and that it has been thought of as a separate element constituting factual information that language only conveys, whereas Kramsch (1993) declares that culture is a feature of language itself. Therefore, she says, cultural awareness should not be a separate educational objective, but rather an attitude to awareness that forms the background of foreign language learning and teaching. The present doctoral dissertation sets out to investigate how cultural value orientation studies can be applied to foreign language teaching with the supposition that the field of intercultural communication is in vital connection with CVOS.

2.4 A case of possible intercultural encounter: the job application process

Deena Levine already in 1987 stated in her book *The culture puzzle* that cultural differences create predictable communication difficulties. Since then much work has been done in the field of intercultural communication and contrastive rhetoric in recent decades. However, while some genres and languages have received considerable attention, in others research has

been scarce despite their relevance in professional communication. One of these linguistically and culturally under-researched professional fields is that of job-hunting, which is surprising considering the fact that it is a frequent and often intercultural experience in society.

From a discourse point of view, job-hunting involves writing curricula vitae (CVs) and motivational letters (MLs) in order to promote the applicants and their reasons for applying for a specific position (Seelye, 2005). From a contemporary Hungarian sociological point of view, it probably includes applying to multinational companies. As a consequence, in 57% of the cases it means writing CVs and MLs in English, as most job advertisements require a high level of English language knowledge in Hungary (Híves, 2006). In addition, from the point of view of intercultural communication, by applying to multinational companies and by writing CVs and MLs in English as a foreign language (EFL), applicants step onto the field of a possible intercultural land-mine, given that not only the linguistic tools, but also the schemata and thought patterns of different languages may be different (Kaplan, 1966, 1987). Since applicants' success lies in their competence to solve the arising situations and overcome the obstacles, understanding, knowing and acting upon cultural differences help to increase the marketability of the workforce in an internationalized job market (Falkné, 2000).

When Kaplan wrote his controversial "doodles article" about how the rhetoric of languages differed with relevance to their way of thinking, i.e. their cultural thought patterns, back in 1966, he was not the only researcher turning towards culture as a starting point of analysis, but he was the first one to draw attention to the need of analyzing written texts separately from spoken discourse while applying a cultural aspect. As a result, contrastive rhetoric compared the way of thinking of different cultures represented in their language use in similar situations and has added immensely to the understanding of the process of creating texts regardless of the language of realization. Business communication and management, together with cross cultural teaching and learning (Buckley, 2000), and cross cultural genre analysis (Zhu, 2000) have grown into an interdisciplinary field referred to as intercultural studies, which has also contributed to the understanding of text production at a level above specific language characteristics.

To be able to teach text production, a category is needed according to which texts can be differentiated. Swales published a definition of genre that has become influential in analyzing different text-types, or genres[2] (Bhatia, 1993; Károly, 2007). According to Swales (1990):

> A genre comprises of *a class of communicative events*, the members of which share some *shared set of communicative purposes*. These *purposes are recognized* by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This *rationale shapes the schematic structure* of the discourse

[2] *Text* and *genre* are used as interchangeable terms for the group of written events based on usage by Bhatia (1993).

> and *influences and constrains choice of content and style*. *Communicative purpose* is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit *various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience*. (Swales, 1990, p. 58)

Bhatia's (1993) definition combines the product-process characteristics with a functional perspective and results in the surface-deep analysis of texts which provides "an insightful and thick description of academic and professional texts" and which "has become a powerful and useful tool to arrive at significant form-function correlations which can be utilized for a number of applied linguistic purposes" (Bhatia, 1993, p. 11).

No matter how influential Swales' investigation of the definition of genre has been, it was based on academic research English only. Hatch's (1992) work concerned the connection of discourse and language education and concentrated on the differences of the structuring of narratives and argumentation across cultures. Bhatia (1993) published his work on the written genres of the business and legal world highlighting the cultural influences of the parent culture in EFL writing. Zhu (2000), also in the field of business, researched sales letters in cross-cultural situations. Károly (2007) overviewed not only the cultural aspects of translation theory, but also the narrative, the descriptive, and the argumentative genres. There is additional research on Japanese autobiography (Dyer and Friederich, 2002), expressing emotions in Chinese job cover letters (DeKay, 2006), comparing English and Arabic prose (Ostler, 1987), letters of recommendation (Liu, 2007), racial and ethnic issues in résumé writing in the USA (Davis and Muir, 2003), and the problems of résumé teaching in Russia suffering from the transition from Soviet-style socialism to Western-style capitalism (Bowen, Sapp and Sargsyan, 2006). In conclusion, though surface-level descriptive linguistics has evolved into an interdisciplinary field of multidimensional research approach that helps theoreticians and practicing experts to see the similarities and the differences of (all) text-genre types in (all) situations across (all) languages, there are still certain genres that need further research. Two of these are the curriculum vitae and the motivational letter, described in the following two sections.

2.4.1 The curriculum vitae

The *curriculum vitae* according to the *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary* is a "brief account of somebody's previous career, usually submitted with an application for a job". The word *résumé* means "a brief account of one's professional or work experience and qualifications, often submitted with an employment application" as found in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. Thus, it can be assumed that the terms *curriculum vitae* and *résumé* describe the same phenomenon in British and American English respectively. There is also, however, information separating the 'British' (i.e. European) CV from the American résumé on the internet (http://www.iagora.com/iwork/resumes/cv_usa.html, among others). This says that a CV is a document mostly used in the world of academia and medicine and takes the form of listing previous education, positions, research and awards. The résumé, on the other hand, is supposed to include the information of any job applicants in a way that sells the applicant and catches the attention of the human resources expert responsible for the selection process. The literature on genre, however, identifies the function of selling the applicant as a characteristic of the motivational letter (Seelye, 2005; Bhatia, 1993).

It was not clear what exactly makes a CV and a ML, and there seemed to be an unfortunate inattention to the discourse structural and linguistic characteristics of the curriculum vitae (Connor, 1996). Connor (1996) relates an incident when in 1992 a teacher of English from Hungary wrote a narrative CV in a TESL course in Prague, the Czech Republic, which type was unknown in the English-speaking world. Bhatia (1993) on the other hand, focused on the job application letter, where he considered the CV as the necessary attachment of the motivational letter, and did not include it in his research perspective. None of these sources or the ones mentioned earlier (Davis and Muir, 2003; Bowen, Sapp and Sargsyan, 2006) involve the definition of the genre of CV writing, or its characteristics – despite its everyday presence in professional communication. In order to be able to carry out a cultural analysis of CVs and MLs, a gap had to be filled. An analytical model for the study of the genre of curriculum vitae (CV) in EFL and other contexts was required. Therefore, an analytical model was set up based on an internet and course book survey together with the Hungarian National Curriculum (HNC) and the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) was carried out (Furka, 2008). In the case of the analyzed 'British' and 'Hungarian' internet and printed material, the CVs had various patterns of similarity in format, content and even style. On the basis of this finding, the CV template created includes personal data, work and educational experience, skills and other categories (reprinted from Furka, 2008, see Table 2).

Nonetheless, essential differences in format and style are also displayed in the samples. For example, the narrative type Hungarian CV with the time sequence as the organizing principle,

the holistic self of the writer in focus, and the reader-responsibility is completely different from the tabular format Anglo/American/EU version, whose main organizing principle is the relevance to the current job posting, where the self is shown from a certain angle, and is writer-responsible. These essential differences are assumed to represent cultural differences in thought patterns and values between the Anglo-American and Hungarian cultures. On the other hand, the fact that there are Hungarian CVs with an Anglo-American format and style reflects a change in the pattern, most probably due to the influence of western-style economic structural expectations and organizational culture, as well as western-type selection processes, just as it was reported for Russia (Bowen, Sapp and Sargsyan, 2006).

A possible explanation for the lack of generalizations with relevance to the genre-based characteristics of CVs could be the fact that each CV for each occasion is supposed to be different (Seelye, 2005). Thus, it is expected to have a constantly changing format and content in which no major regularities may be found (Swales, 1990). The template however, produced on the basis of the above-mentioned analysis, may serve as a basis of comparison for the texts produced by the participants of the study. In addition, based on the resulting template and Swales (1990), a culturally neutral definition of the genre of CVs may be constructed which reads as follows:

> The class of communicative events of the job application procedure, whose shared set of communicative purposes is to inform the intended audience, in this case employers/HR experts, about the events of one's life described according to specific categories, and whose schematic structural constrains in content and style are not independent of the language and cultural environment of realization. (Furka, 2008, p. 22)

Thus with the cultural differences in the foreground, and in the light of the above survey, it is clear that guidelines on the expected format and content of CV writing in the different contexts, both educational and work-related, should be explicitly expressed in order to provide the utmost help in learning for those who are in need of writing a curriculum vitae.

CV TEMPLATE based on 6 internet and 4 printed samples
Personal information
Name
Address
Phone
Date of birth
Email
Nationality
Work experience
Dates of work experience
Names of employers
Responsibilities
Occupation/position
Education and training
Dates of education and training
Names of institutions
Subjects/majors
Skills (general and others)

Table 2. The CV template proposed in Furka (2008).

2.4.2 The motivational letter

Research on the genre of motivational letters is also comparatively neglected, though Bhatia (1993) dealt with it under the expression 'job application letters' quite extensively. The terminology *motivational letter, cover letter* and *application letter* in English (Bhatia, 1993; DeKay, 2006; Seelye, 2005 respectively) and *motivációs levél* [motivational letter], *kísérő levél* [cover letter] in Hungarian (www.frissdiplomas.hu) seem to be transposable in both languages. The present doctoral research project uses the English terms interchangeably.

The analysis of the motivational letters of Hungarian EFL students followed Bhatia's (1993) analytical model for the study of job application letters in. Bhatia (1993, chapter 3) compares job application letters to sales promotion letters, even though they are generally considered to be two separate text types. His reason for the comparison is based on the fact that the two types have the same communicative purpose, which is promoting something. Thus, the job application letter belongs to the larger category of promotional literature and is similar to advertisements, company brochures and leaflets. It is persuasive, "uses the same medium and exploits the same form. The only difference in the two is that […] the job application letter is generally written in response to an advertisement" (Bhatia, 1993, p. 59). The aim of the job application letter is to elicit a response, namely an interview for the applicant. To do this, the applicant has to establish his/her credentials, has "to offer a favorable, positive and relevant description of the abilities of the candidate in terms of the specifications or requirements of the job that has been advertised" (p. 60). It should not present all the minutiae, only "highlight the most essential and the most important aspects of the candidature" (p. 60). Thus, the application letter is *clarificatory* in style and purpose, and not descriptive (p. 60).

Bhatia (1993) proceeds to set up a structural description of the job application letter, similarly to the move-step analysis of Swales for research article introductions (1990). The structure of job application letters has seven parts. Move 1 is the place for establishing credentials, which involves showing the prospective employer the need to hire the candidate in question by referring to the job advertisement, or other sources of information from which the candidate might have learnt that there is a vacancy. Move 2 introduces candidature and has three sub-parts: a) *offering candidature*, b) *essential detailing of the candidature* and c) *indicating value of candidature*. In English, there are some syntactic possibilities that allow for Move 2a to come before Move 1. For example, in the sentence

> *With reference to your advertisement in the Straits Times of 1 December, 1988 for the position of fashion copywriter I would like to offer myself as a candidate for your consideration*. (Bhatia, 1993, p. 64)

Establishing credentials comes first by referring to the need of the employer, and then follows introducing candidature by referring to the advertised job. However, in the sentence

> *I would like to apply for the position of fashion copywriter as advertised in the Straits Times of 1 December, 1988*. (Bhatia, 1993, p. 65)

the offering of candidature comes before establishing credentials. As both are acceptable solutions fulfilling the same purpose, the order of the two moves can remain flexible. The second part of Move 2, the *essential detailing of candidature* (Move 2b), is the most elaborate one where qualifications, experience, interests, abilities and achievements are to be mentioned. The third part of Move 2, *indicating value of candidature* (Move 2c), is the most crucial, yet most intricately performed one. The sufficient qualities and potentials of the candidate have to be highlighted in this part. It is a self-representation that has to show the candidate's relevance to the job. He/she can only do this by creating his/her relevance self from his/her real self – a *persona* in literary terms.

The next step in job application letters is offering incentives (Move 3) as in promotional sales letters, however, according to Bhatia it is rarely used, or it is difficult to set apart from the previous section, *indicating the value of the candidature*. Move 4 is enclosing documents, which apart from referring to the attached documents, also states the function of the letter. In other words, it clarifies the reason, 'the motivation' for writing, rather than describing it. This is why the actual details themselves are attached in the CV or other documents, such as testimonials and qualifications. Move 5 is about soliciting response, which can be achieved by keeping the initiative in the applicant's hand, by asking for an interview, inviting for further correspondence or any other techniques that open the floor for further communication as in

Since I do not have a telephone, I will be happy to call you should a telephone discussion become appropriate. (Bhatia, 1993, p. 67)

Then Move 6 comes, which is the place for using pressure tactics. The use of this move indicates a more unequal situation between applicant and employer than in the sales promotion letter. According to Bhatia, in today's highly competitive world it might not be wise to employ this move, however, it may still be found in practice. Finally, Move 7 ends the letter politely. It has to create goodwill, so however short, this part of the job application letter is crucial to be formed politely. The summary of the moves can be seen in Table 3.

MOVE 1	Establishing credentials
MOVE 2	Introducing candidature
Part 1	offering candidature
Part 2	essential detailing of candidature
Part 3	indicating the value of the candidature
MOVE 3	Offering incentives
MOVE 4	Enclosing documents
MOVE 5	Soliciting response
MOVE 6	Using pressure tactics
MOVE 7	Ending politely

Table 3. Seven steps of the job application letter according to Bhatia (1993).

2.4.3 The job application process as self-representation

The above discussion in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 focused on the discourse features of the two genres involved in the job application process. Apart from establishing what constitutes the genres involved in the job application process, it is also important to look at what their function is in that situation. This section explains how these two genres are used for representing the self of the writer and it is pointed out that evidence suggests there is considerable cultural variation in the realization of self-representation through CVs and MLs.

The job application process is an example of self-representation (Bhatia, 1993), because the applicant must introduce him/herself to provide the prospective employer with a teasing glimpse of his/her personality in order to get a chance for the further rounds of the selection process. It is a highly complex task, the result of which needs to be persuasive, appropriate, credible and prompting emotional response (Bhatia, 1993, p. 65) to achieve the goal, that is, to get the new job. All the moves of an ML play an important part in providing the skeleton of self-representation. However, indicating the value of candidature (Move 2c) is of most importance, as it is the part where the applicant has the best opportunity to show the relevance of his/her self to the job posting. The cruciality of showing the value of the applicant is supported by the fact that

all the letters in the present corpus displayed indicating the value of candidature (Move 2c) in them, even if other moves were sometimes lacking.

Whereas in promotion literature the product is made appealing by informing the audience of the details and the values of the product with the aim to persuade the reader, in MLs there are strategies used to persuade the reader to hire the applicant. Self-representation in MLs, however, is a more complex process than representation of a product. A product is always the same product, whereas, the self may be the real one, e.g. the objective facts and characteristics of a person, or a 'constructed' one, which does not necessarily contain all aspects of the real self, only some, presumably relevant aspects of it. Showing the values of the applicant is the most essential element of self-representation. Therefore, the examination of the cultural characteristics of self-representation in the ML corpus was relevant as it may provide a glimpse into the thought patterns and underlying values of an investigated culture, in addition to how the participants view the relationship between the individual and the surroundings. Whereas the CV handed in as part of a job application material presents the self as a collection of facts particularly filtered in a certain order, the ML is seen as a tool to highlight those aspects of the self relevant to the job. The two together provide a complex representation of how identity is constructed in a given culture. From the cultural analysis of the self-representation techniques in the MLs it can also be concluded what is valued in a particular culture while constructing the self, and what is valued in this highlighted, fabricated self. This in turn may shed light on the overall underlying value orientations of a given culture. Furthermore, when self-representation is done in a foreign language, it is an even more crucial task, as the writer's native language identity may interact, overlap, or go against his/her second language identity. In addition, it is not only the 'product', i.e. the self, itself that can be different in first and second language identities, but their construction processes as well. The cultural analysis of self-representation in MLs written in English by Hungarian learners of English intends to get answers to the above.

The general strategy for self-representation in promotion literature is self-appraisal (Bhatia, 1993). It "consists of an adequately relevant, positive and credible description of the product or service and a good indication of its potential value to its intended audience" (Bhatia, 1993, p. 66). An example of self-appraisal is the following excerpt cited in Bhatia (1993):

> *My specialty is Shakespeare and Renaissance drama in general, but I am also qualified to teach a wide variety of other courses, including the Novel, Poetry, Composition, writing and teaching of writing and ESL.* (Bhatia, 1993, p. 67)

Nonetheless, Bhatia (1993) already reported earlier that there is a heavy nativization of promotional literature. He found that in different cultures the strategies used to display a certain move seem to be different. Bhatia's corpus of MLs written in English consisted of 200 MLs

collected in South-East Asia and showed that instead of self-appraisal the candidates used such strategies as self-degradation, self-glorification or adversary/target glorification to achieve the indication of why the applicants would be good candidates for the advertised position instead of self-appraisal. Self-degradation is defined by Bhatia (1993) as the technique to show oneself in a less favorable light, almost undeserving of the position applied for. It is more widely used in applications for scholarships, but it is also found in MLs. It is used to raise the sympathy of the reader to make him/her invite the applicant for an interview. An example would be:

> *So I request your honour to please support a poor student of (name of country) financially…, so that he can become a bright mind (o the light provided by you) for humanity.* (Bhatia, 1993, p. 72)

Self-glorification, on the other hand, is almost the opposite. It is characterized by the sweeping statements of the candidate without sufficient objective facts supporting the claims. Self-glorification is completely subjective and short of credibility. It is "an unsupported claim of the writer's own superiority based simply on feelings or desires rather than on rational judgment" (Bhatia, 1993, p. 70). A good example is put down in the sentence:

> *I am a graduate in mining engineering having a shining academic record in my credit. I have been given admission in the Graduate School, University of …, USA….But due to my financial u-ability I cannot afford to fulfill this long standing desire…* (Bhatia, 1993, p. 70)

Finally, a third strategy is what Bhatia calls 'adversary' glorification, which is the phenomenon of talking highly of the employer in order to justify the reason of application to the reader. For instance, the sentences

> *So I personally felt that you are really serving the nation in real sense…I would like to serve the human beings in real sense but I cannot do without the assistance of any organization such as yours…* (Bhatia, 1993, p. 70)

or

> *… I intend to complete my further studies in the field of Medicine in my loving great country, United States of America* (Bhatia, 1993, p. 71)

are used by the applicants to flatter the addressee and thereby ensure a positive response to their application.

Other research (Hou and Li, 2011; Sii, 2005) has also suggested the nativization of strategies employed in promotional literature. Hou and Li (2011) examined cover letters of internship applications of 26 Canadian and 26 Taiwanese students of hospitality majors, and

found that apart from the surface linguistic differences such as length and lexical density of the moves in the letters, there was a difference in politeness strategies, natives using more negative politeness strategies as suggested by Maier (1992) and non-natives using more positive politeness strategies with more direct sentences. Their results show an overall cultural difference in the pragmatic realization of the cover letters that they suggest to be addressed by ESP teaching practices in the future. In addition, Sii (2005) also found that there is a difference between British and Chinese cover letters of TEFL/TESL application letters not only in their most frequently occurring moves, but also in the element of *Explaining Reasons* for writing their applications, a section that was missing in the British letters. Furthermore, British applicants gave more emphasis to the details of their candidature than the Chinese, and relied less on self-glorification, self-degradation and adversary glorification than the Chinese applicants.

2.5 Key terms applied in the doctoral dissertation

Just as the literature review serving as the theoretical background to the dissertation depicts diverse research approaches, the terminology employed in the studies proved to be equally varied. The following section touches upon the key terms forming the major step-stones of the dissertation. These will be discussed in the following paragraphs in detail.

2.5.1 Culture

What 'culture' as a scientific construct might mean was already a problematic question at the time of early anthropological work, and it has remained one ever since. From the definitions of different anthropologists and sociologists (Hofstede, 1991), to linguists (Chick, 1996), and language teaching experts (Kramsch, 1998; Brown, 1986, the definition of *culture* has always been diverse. Researchers have been trying to grasp a phenomenon that words seem to be insufficient to define for scientific application.

According to most of the definitions, culture is divided into two, a visible and an invisible part. The visible part of culture is labeled by Triandis (2002b) as material, and the invisible as subjective culture. The former refers to

> such elements as dress, food, houses, highways, tools, and machines. Subjective culture is a society's "characteristic way of perceiving its social environment" (Triandis, 1972, p. viii, 3). It consists of ideas about what has worked in the past and thus is worth transmitting to future generations. Language and economic, educational, political, legal, philosophical and religious systems are important elements of culture. Ideas about aesthetics, and how should people live with others are also important elements. Most important are unstated assumptions, standard operating procedures, and habits of sampling information from the environment. (Triandis, 2002b, p. 1)

For Hofstede (1991), there are also two types of 'culture', the 'C' Culture and the 'c' culture. The first one, 'Culture', is the result of the refinement of the mind through civilization and especially its result, like education, art, literature and customs. The second, 'culture', however, is a social phenomenon, "a collective programming of the mind which distinguishes members of one group or category from another" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 5). It is learnt, not inherited, and it includes, besides 'Culture' "the ordinary and menial things in life: greeting, eating, showing or not showing feelings, keeping a certain physical distance from others, making love or maintaining body hygiene" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 5). These sometimes invisible disparities in cultures which determine how people tend to behave or feel in certain situations Hofstede sums up as "the thinking, feeling and acting of a group" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 4). Due to its clarity and the implication of cognitive, affective and behavioral aspects of culture, this definition will serve as the basic construct in the present dissertation.

In addition to the definition of Hofstede (1991), a classification of culture of a linguistic aspect will be also emphasized in the dissertation. According to Kramsch (1995):

> Material culture is constantly *mediated, interpreted and recorded — among other things —through language*. It is because of that mediatory role of language that culture becomes the concern of the language teacher. Culture in the final analysis is always *linguistically mediated membership into a discourse community that is both real and imagined* (Kramsch, 1995, p. 83).

Kramsch (1995) highlights the relationship of culture and language in a way that is vitally important from the perspective of language teaching. It is also one that brings together what Boyacigiller et al. (2002) suggest as a future course for cross cultural management studies, i.e. considering culture as a negotiated entity; and the direction that foreign language teaching should go, i.e. preparing language learners for being 'intercultural speakers', that is, to be able to mediate their membership into a/any discourse community. This dissertation with its research results intends to highlight the hows and whats needed to be done in order to achieve this state of foreign language education in Hungary.

2.5.2 Cultural dimensions

The data analysis of the present doctoral research is based on the construct of 'cultural dimension' that has been developed in the field of cultural value orientation studies. It is therefore essential to provide a working definition of what is a cultural dimension. Although other researchers labeled their own dimensions or their equivalent constructs differently according to which they categorized cultures, they all used Hofstede's idea that was based on his empirical research on IBM employees' work attitude. He defined the construct of a cultural dimension as "an aspect of a culture that can be measured relative to other cultures" (Hofstede and Hofstede,

2005, p. 23). The description of a dimension also functions as its definition. Sagiv and Schwartz (2000), on the other hand, define cultural dimensions of values as "the basic issues or problems that societies confront in order to regulate activity. Societal members recognize and communicate about these problems, plan responses to them and motivate one another to cope with them." (p. 419) Finally, Triandis (2002a) uses the term cultural syndromes to operationalize culture and be able to measure its aspects. A cultural syndrome is a theme around which the elements of Triandis' subjective culture (shared attitudes, beliefs, norms, and values found among those who speak a particular language dialect, in a specific geographic region, during a particular historic period) are organized. Examples of such syndromes were discussed above in section 2.2.1.

The dissertation uses Hofstede's dimension construct for the simple reason of being flexible enough in application due to its wording. As the present research employs the Hofstedian dimensional framework as a starting point for its research, it was not foreseeable what specific aspects of the cultures investigated might turn up during data analysis. Using such a flexible definition leaves enough space to carry out the analysis.

2.5.3 Cultural value orientation profile

Hofstede created a dimensional model from scores on the five dimensions of his database for each country. He defined this dimensional model as "a set of dimensions used in combination in order to describe a phenomenon" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 261). Although in this doctoral dissertation a similar approach is used when summarizing the results, a *cultural value orientation profile* is preferred, which is defined as a matrix of the central tendencies of a certain country/nation on a certain number of cultural dimensions describing their cultural characteristics. A profile defined this way yields a more flexible tool that enables combining statistical results with qualitative descriptors in the conceptualization process of cultural differences. In addition, as neither the statistical scores, nor the more qualitative data of the literature review denote absolute characteristics, a profile – just like Hofstede's model – focuses on the *relativity* of the characteristics of countries. As the intention of the doctoral dissertation is to make culture clashes more comprehensible and to help the participants bridge communication breakdown among cultures, such a working tool makes the conceptualization of cultural differences easier not only for learners, but also for researchers, readers, and language teachers alike.

2.5.4 Multi-, inter- or cross-cultural?

The terminology denoting situations or research approaches that involve several cultures/nations might look confusing at first. For Kramsch (1998) *multicultural* is a "political term used to characterize a society composed of people from different cultures or an individual

who belongs to several cultures" (p. 129). *Intercultural* means either "the meeting between people from different cultures and languages across the political boundaries of nation states" or "communication between people from different ethnic, social, gendered cultures within the boundaries of the same nation" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 129). In another publication Kramsch (1995) characterizes the two terms as "two educational attempts to understand and overcome particularity, by building bridges between one culture and another" (Kramsch, 1995, p. 87). She says that *intercultural* is used in educational settings in Europe "to characterize the acquisition of information about the customs, institutions and history of a society other than one's own" (Kramsch, 1995, p. 87), whereas "in the corporate world it is applied to behavioral training for business executives" (Kramsch, 1995, p. 88). For Chick (1996) *cross-cultural* is a point of view "that focuses on a particular feature of communication within and across cultures" and *intercultural* studies "are concerned with a number of features of two cultural systems as they are used in a particular intercultural encounter" (p. 331). When reviewing intercultural interaction research, Boyacigiller et al., (2002) also found that the term intercultural studies tend to refer to bi-nation research projects.

The present doctoral dissertation, however, uses the terms cross-cultural and intercultural without much emphasis on the special usages of the terms in the different fields of study. The focus is on situations and encounters where various cultural backgrounds interact with each other in some form. Therefore, the database includes any interaction of people from different cultures (not even necessarily nations) in any form (written or oral), with no restriction on the number of participants involved (whether it is only two cultures or more at the same time, or within the context). Nevertheless, a tendency to use the term 'intercultural' might be detected in the dissertation, for the simple reason that the research fields closest to foreign language pedagogy use the term 'intercultural' in their discourse.

2.5.5 Intercultural competence

The importance of successful intercultural communication has already been established in business management and organizational studies (see the literature review above) as it is believed by practicing experts that there is a direct link between profit and successful intercultural communication (Buckley, 2000). The existence of numerous intercultural communication trainings in business management curricula also signals that a daily problem in the everyday life of people working in an international environment exists (Planken, 2004).

However, the definition of the term intercultural (communicative) competence, the skills needed for successful intercultural communication, seems to be as diverse as that of culture itself (Deardorff, 2006; Rollin and Harrap, 2005; Byram and Fleming, 1998; Damen, 1987; Chen and Starosta, 2005). From the point of view of the communicative competence framework within

language teaching and learning, intercultural competence can be defined in Kramsch's corporate world usage (1995) and Byram's terminology (1997). From these points of view, intercultural competence denotes

1. any skills used in an intercultural communication situation in order to achieve successful communication and solve arising miscommunications and

2. any behavioral strategies used when the process of acculturation is put into motion in a target culture irrespective of the length of the connection or its place (i.e. a short meeting anywhere in the world between international business people as opposed to long-term study or work) (Byram, 1997). These behavioral strategies are divided into sub skills of Knowledge, Discovery and Interaction, Attitudes, Interpreting and Relating, and Critical Awareness.

With the topic of intercultural communication taking more impetus outside organizational and business management studies, however, more detailed definitions of intercultural competence appear. Deardorff (2006) asked 23 top interculturalists to come up with a definition for intercultural competence that most of them could agree with. The final definition says that one is interculturally competent when one is able (1) to communicate effectively and appropriately based on their intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes, (2) to shift frame of reference appropriately and adapt their behavior to the cultural context, (3) to identify behaviors guided by culture and engage in new behaviors in other cultures even when behaviors are unfamiliar, (4) to behave appropriately and effectively in intercultural situations based on their knowledge, skills and motivation, (5) to construct interaction to achieve their goals to some extent, (6) to send and receive messages that are accurate and appropriate and (7) to take part in a transformational process toward enlightened global citizenship that involves intercultural adroitness (behavioral aspect focusing on communication skills), intercultural awareness (cognitive aspect of understanding differences), and intercultural sensitivity (focus on positive emotion toward cultural difference) (p. 249).

Two other models of (intercultural) communicative competence are also of interest for the present dissertation, presented by Chen (2005) and Chen and Starosta (2000). Chen's Global Communication Competence is believed to be necessary in today's globalization processes, and the model consists of four skills. The first concerns having a *Global Mindset* that denotes openness to other cultures. This open mindset is responsible for facilitating intercultural interactions, in as much as it filters our surroundings at a cognitive level. The broader the mindset, the easier it is to expect and accept new trends and chances consciously. The second skill is *Unfolding the Self*, which requires an attitude of willingness for constant learning, of cultivating sensitivity, fostering empathy, and developing creativity. The third element of global communication competence is the ability of *Mapping the Culture* which includes being

bewildered by differences between cultures, then being frustrated by these differences, but then cognitive analysis helps achieve the state of empathic immersion in the new culture. Finally, the fourth element of Chen's global communication competence is that of *Aligning the Interaction* that builds on language ability, flexible behavior, successful management of interactions, and maintenance of the identity through these interactions, and managing change and complexity.

Chen and Starosta (2000) consider intercultural competence proper an umbrella term denoting an ability that has three aspects to it: cognitive, affective and behavioral. For the cognitive aspect they developed the idea of intercultural awareness, "the understanding of culture conventions that affect how we think and behave" (Chen and Starosta, 2000, p. 3). The affective part of this ability is intercultural sensitivity, which is the subjects' "active desire to motivate themselves to understand, appreciate, and accept differences among cultures" (Chen and Starosta, 2000, p. 3). Finally, the behavioral aspect is depicted in the term intercultural adroitness that represents "the ability to get the job done and attain communication goals in intercultural interactions" (Chen and Starosta, 1996, p. 367,).

Finally, the Intercultural Competence Assessment (INCA) project (Byram, Kühlmann and Müller-Jacquier, 2004) developed a theoretical model of intercultural competence to provide a baseline and inform training programs in the UK. The INCA framework includes *tolerance of ambiguity, behavioral flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge discovery, respect for otherness* and *empathy* as the basic elements of intercultural competence. Tolerance of ambiguity entails "the ability to accept lack of clarity and ambiguity and to be able to deal with it constructively" (Byram, Kühlmann and Müller-Jacquier, 2004, p. 5). Behavioral flexibility means that one is able to adapt to different situations and the requirements therein. Communicative awareness is defined as "the ability in intercultural communication to establish relationships between linguistic expressions and cultural contents, to identify, and consciously work with, various communicative conventions of foreign patterns, and to modify correspondingly one's own linguistic forms of expression" (ibid. p. 6). The term k*nowledge of discovery* describes the ability "to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to act using that knowledge, these attitudes and those skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction" (ibid. p. 6). Respect for otherness covers curiosity and openness towards other cultures and people and the suspension of one's own stereotypes and prejudices against other cultures. The last element, Empathy, is the intuitive understanding of other people's thoughts, opinions and feelings in specific circumstances.

2.5.6 Emotional intelligence

The final term that will be an essential element in the discussion of the research results is the construct of emotional intelligence (EI). According to Goleman (1998), emotional intelligence is a skill that helps us recognize our and others' emotions. He claims that strategies are needed for detecting emotions, and that they can be programmed to kick into motion before an "emotional hijacking takes place". This can be achieved by recognizing the 'trigger situations', and backing up declarative knowledge with procedural knowledge in order to achieve a deep change of behavioral patterns at a neurological level. Prashnig (2004) highlights the importance of self-awareness, self-control and the need for developing strategies to change one's behavioral patterns. It is argued here that this cannot be achieved without a high level of emotional intelligence. When lacking this control, one cannot "prevent going over the edge" (Prashnig, 2004, p. 227) in discomforting or upsetting situations which often occur during intercultural encounters. Brown (2000) also mentions emotional intelligence as an important constituent of the acculturation process, in intercultural encounters, as well as in developing the target language identity. Finally, research has confirmed that 85% of the success of financial and human resources management depend on the emotional intelligence of the participants, and only 15% can be allocated to their professional expertise (Neale, Spencer-Arnell and Wilson, 2009).

Goleman (1998) splits EI into personal and social competences. The first big branch of personal competence is self-awareness that consists of emotional awareness, accurate self-assessment, and self-confidence. The second big group of personal competence is how we manage ourselves, that is, how we control our emotions, whether our communication is transparent or not, whether we can adapt to situations, and whether we are achievement oriented, initiative, and optimistic. Apart from these personal abilities, two groups of social competences play an important role in emotional intelligence. One is social awareness that includes the ability to have empathy for others, to be aware of organizations around us such as groups of people and how they interact with each other, and to have a mind set on the willingness to serve others in certain situations. The other social competence that emotional intelligence requires is the ability to manage relationships inasmuch as we have the ability to develop others, to be inspirational leaders, to influence them and change the catalyst in the group, to manage conflicts effectively and finally to be able to work as effective team players and work in collaboration (Goleman, 1998). In addition, Neale, Spencer-Arnell, and Wilson (2009) think emotional intelligence is a group of interconnected attitudes that have an effect on our abilities, such as respect for ourselves and others, awareness towards ourselves and others, self-control with reference to emotional flexibility, personal power, achievement orientation, ability to connect to others, and behaving in a trustful manner. The final elements constituting emotional intelligence are the ability to manage

our relationships with trust, to have a balanced foresight, to communicate emotions, to have self-control, to manage conflicts, and the ability to accept the fact that we depend on each other.

The present dissertation claims that intercultural competence development in foreign language education needs to be supplemented with training in emotional intelligence in order to help language learners become intercultural speakers. This claim is supported by the similarity and overlap of the subcompetences of intercultural competence and emotional intelligence. The elements of emotional intelligence were discussed above. The elements of intercultural competence were also detailed under section 2.4.5. Table 4 below summarizes the elements of intercultural competence and emotional intelligence.

Intercultural competence	**Emotional intelligence**
Byram (1997) • Knowledge • Discovery and interaction • Attitudes • Interpreting and relating • Critical awareness	**Goleman (1998)** **1. Personal Competence** • **Self-Awareness** (emotional awareness, accurate self-assessment, self-confidence) • **Self-Management** (emotional self-control, transparency, adaptability, achievement orientation, initiative, optimism) **2. Social Competence** • **Social Awareness** (empathy, organizational awareness, service orientation) • **Relationship Management** (developing others, inspirational leadership, influence, change catalyst, conflict management, teamwork and collaboration
Byram, Kühlman & Müller-Jacquier (2004) • Tolerance of ambiguity • Behavioral flexibility • Communicative awareness • Knowledge discovery • Respect for otherness • Empathy	**Neale, Spencer-Arnell, & Wilson (2009)** 1. **Respect** (for ourselves, for others) 2. **Awareness** (of ourselves and others) 3. **Self-control** (emotional flexibility, personal power, achievement orientation, personal attachment ability, trustful behavior) 4. **Managing relationships** (trust, balanced foresight, emotional self-expression and ability to control oneself, conflict management, accepting that we depend on each other)
Chen & Starosta (1996, 2000) 1. **intercultural sensitivity** (self-concept, open mindedness, nonjudgmental attitude and social relaxation), 2. **intercultural awareness** (self-awareness and cultural awareness) 3. **intercultural adroitness** (message skills, appropriate self-disclosure, behavioral flexibility, interaction management and social skills, empathy and identity maintenance)	

Table 4. A review of the similarities of the elements of intercultural competence and emotional intelligence.

Due to the scope of the present dissertation, it is not possible here to discuss the definition of each concept underlying the above listed elements of intercultural competence and emotional

intelligence in detail. Nevertheless, it may well be seen how IC and EI overlap at a number of points, and how they complement each other in other aspects. For instance, empathy and flexibility come up as relevant competences under intercultural competence. In emotional intelligence the basis of self-control (Neale, Spencer-Arnell, and Wilson, 2009) and self-management (Goleman, 1998) is considered to be emotional flexibility and empathy is required for social awareness. Social and self-awareness are also required for being able to function appropriately in society (Goleman, 1998). These two skills are also important in intercultural awareness (Chen and Starosta, 1996, 2000) where social awareness is extended to the awareness of societies from other cultures. Furthermore, conflict management, which is important for emotional intelligence is made possible if one has tolerance of ambiguity and can behave in a flexible and trustful manner (intercultural competence. These common characteristics of intercultural competence and emotional intelligence pinpoint the importance of including emotional intelligence training in intercultural competence development.

3 Research design and methods

The usual practice of researchers in the early 20th century was to examine culture and its characteristics with the help of qualitative methods, such as case studies, interviews, thick descriptions (Szokolszky, 2004), but when computers became available quantitative analysis opened up a new horizon. Today one basic rule of research is to employ "proper" samples to collect data in an amount that is manageable by computerized statistical analysis in order to arrive at objective, generalizable and representative results. This type of research has acquired the title 'quantitative'. This research approach is very helpful when the research aim is to detect general characteristics of a certain group of people, in the present case the culture(s) in question. Therefore, quantitative research methods have been thought to be more appropriate, and the researchers that have been influential in cultural value orientation studies have all applied quantitative methods.

In coming to generalizable conclusions about a sample, quantitative research is indeed appropriate. What is more, it has been a trend to consider it the single valid way of doing research since the emergence of statistical procedures that make analyzing data of an enormous size possible. As a result, qualitative research design has been defending itself as an equally valid and reliable research approach in cultural analysis. Today it is claimed that the aim of qualitative research is to research phenomena in a context-dependent structure (Szokolszky, 2004) as opposed to the quantitative, context-neutral attitude. The rule of thumb for qualitative research instead of the 'generalizability' of quantitative methods therefore became obtaining results that are 'transferable' to other contexts. It is claimed that transferability enables making generalizable conclusions from data collected through qualitative research processes just as much as quantitative research does (Szokolszky, 2004). However, due to the increased possibility of subjectivity in qualitative analyses compared to quantitative methods, and the doubt of researchers that transferability of qualitative procedures such as case studies, interviews, diaries, ethnographic studies, etc. is enough criterion for well-established conclusions, and due to the lack of generalizable data (Szokolszky, 2004), measuring cultural dimensions with quantitative procedures has been regarded as the acceptable way of analysis (Hofstede, 1980; House et al., 2004; WVS, ESS continuously). The present dissertation suggests that quantitatively acquired data and analysis should be supplemented by additional qualitative, in-depth analysis to fine tune the conclusions of quantitative results to be able to measure how one particular group is characteristic of a whole nation, or how the dimensional characteristics change depending on the situation and circumstances (Peng, Peterson and Shyi, 1991).

The present dissertation, therefore, is an exploratory study of the cultural value orientations of Hungary from the point of view of cultural dimension research, such as the work

of Hofstede (2001), Hall (1973, 1976), Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), Inglehart (2008), Schwartz (1999), the GLOBE project (House et al., 2004), the ESS, Minkov (2007) and Triandis (2002a). Together with written data collected from Hungarian learners of English and interviews conducted with foreigners working with Hungarians, and Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis for the dissertation, it investigates which cultural dimensions should be considered, and how, in foreign language instruction in Hungary. By employing cultural dimensions as a tool of analysis it is hoped that the points in cultural characteristics that lie beneath cultural clashes and misunderstandings between Hungarians and foreigners can be demonstrated. The dissertation intends to establish a triangulated cultural value orientation profile of Hungary that is lacking in the current state of research. This will serve the basis for the discussion on the possibilities of intercultural competence development in foreign language education in Hungary. Table 5 below provides an overview of the research questions together with the methods of data collection and data analysis related to them, as well as the required instruments and equipment.

	Research questions	Methods of data collection	Methods of data analysis	Instruments and equipment
1.	What cultural dimensions should be used when establishing the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary?	Literature review of CVOS	Qualitative analysis: Finding, matching, comparing patterns, Summarizing findings	Cultural profiles from literature review
2.	What is the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of the existing foreign and Hungarian research and literature?	Literature review of CVOS on Hungary	Qualitative: Data comparison and collation	12 dimensional framework emerging from literature review 9 intl and 10 HU research cultural profile from literature review
3.	What is the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of curricula vitae and motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language in higher education?	Administering task: job application	Qualitative: Cultural analysis based on 12 dimensional framework Deduction Intuitive labeling Categorizing Finding patterns	CV and ML tasks CV and ML questionnaire 12 dimensional framework
3.1	What cultural differences should be observed by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English?	Literature review on genre and structure of CV and ML Literature review of CVOS Administering task: job application	Qualitative: Finding patterns	CV and ML tasks CV and ML questionnaire 12 dimensional framework
3.2	Which cultural dimensions lie beneath most of the difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English?	Literature review on genre and structure of CV and ML Literature review of CVOS Administering task: job application	Qualitative: Categorizing Finding patterns	CV and ML tasks CV and ML questionnaire 12 dimensional framework
3.3	How did the input of learning about writing curriculum vitae and motivational letter in English or other languages influence the output of the 50 learners of English as a foreign language in practice?	Administering CV and ML questionnaire	Qualitative: Compare CV and ML questionnaire results of participants with their actual output in the task	CV and ML questionnaire CV and ML tasks
3.4	How can Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language be trained to adjust to the cultural differences of the genre of the curriculum vitae and the motivational letter?	Literature review on genre and structure of CV and ML Literature review of CVOS Administering task: job application Administering CV and ML questionnaire Analysis of language teaching books and workbooks on CV and ML tasks	Qualitative: Comparison Make suggestions	CV and ML questionnaire CV and ML tasks language teaching books and workbooks

4.	What is the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of 30 interviews conducted with 15 foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and 15 Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis?	Administering interview with 15 foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and 15 Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis	Qualitative: Cultural analysis based on 12 dimensional framework Deduction Intuitive labeling Categorizing Finding patterns	Interview schedule Transcripts of interviews 12 dimensional framework
4.1	What kind of intercultural misunderstandings occur mostly when Hungarians and foreigners work together on a regular basis in Hungary or abroad?	Administering interview with 15 foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and 15 Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis	Qualitative: Cultural analysis based on 12 dimensional framework Deduction Intuitive labeling Categorizing Finding patterns	Interview schedule Transcripts of interviews 12 dimensional framework
4.2	What cultural differences should be observed for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when working with foreigners on a regular basis?	Administering interview with 15 foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and 15 Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis	Qualitative: Cultural analysis based on 12 dimensional framework Deduction Intuitive labeling Categorizing Finding patterns	Interview schedule Transcripts of interviews 12 dimensional framework
4.3	Which cultural dimensions lie beneath the misunderstandings between Hungarians and foreigners working together on a regular basis? How can learners of English as a foreign language be trained to adjust to these misunderstandings?	Literature review of CVOS Administering interview with 15 foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and 15 Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis	Qualitative: Categorizing Finding patterns	Interview schedule Transcripts of interviews 12 dimensional framework
4.4	How can learners of English as a foreign language be trained to adjust to these misunderstandings?	Literature review/document analysis on intercultural training materials Literature review/document analysis of language textbooks Literature review on emotional intelligence	Qualitative: deduction	Textbooks, workshop materials, training exercises
5.	What is the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary from the data of the literature review, the curriculum vitae and motivational letters, and the interviews?	Literature review on CVOS on Hungary Administering job application task Administering interviews	Qualitative: Finding common platform for separately collected results Merging results	Cultural profile from literature review Cultural profile from CV and ML task Cultural profile from interviews

5.1	Which dimensions in the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary lie beneath the cultural differences that Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language might encounter when communicating with foreigners in English?	Literature review on CVOS on Hungary Administering job application task Administering interviews	Qualitative: Identifying dimensions	Cultural profile from literature review Cultural profile from CV and ML task Cultural profile from interviews
5.2	Based on the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary, what are the possible points of cultural difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language while learning it?	Literature review on CVOS Literature review on CVOS on Hungary Administering job application task Administering interviews	Qualitative: Identifying the differences between cultural profiles	Cultural profile from literature review Cultural profile from CV and ML task Cultural profile from interviews
5.3	Based on the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary, what are the possible points of cultural difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language while communicating in writing and orally with foreigners?	Literature review on CVOS Literature review on CVOS on Hungary Administering job application task Administering interviews	Qualitative: Identifying the differences between different cultures' writing and oral communication styles	Cultural profile from literature review Cultural profile from CV and ML task Cultural profile from interviews Language textbooks

Table 5. Research questions, data sources and analysis.

3.1 Methods of data collection and analysis

To ensure credibility and transferability (Szokolszky, 2004), three different studies were designed and were carried out with parallel schedules. Piloting the necessary instruments for data collection and analysis was also implemented before starting final data collection for the dissertation.

3.1.1 Studying the literature on cultural value orientations

In order to answer research questions 1 and 2, and to provide arguments for the relevance of cultural value orientations studies (CVOS) that are under-represented in today's language teaching practice in the Hungarian foreign language education context, first their main theories and results were consulted. After reviewing the relevant literature, a starting point was needed to make data collection and analysis possible and manageable on Hungarian cultural value orientations. Based on the definitions of the dimensions and categories that the research projects work with in the field, the diverse and overlapping dimensions and categories were reduced into a twelve-dimensional framework to be introduced below in detail in the Results chapter (see section 4.1 Table 18). This unified framework answers the first research question of the doctoral research,

namely, what cultural dimensions should be used when establishing the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary.

In order to answer the second research question, that is, what the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary is in the light of the existing foreign and Hungarian research and literature, any data relevant for Hungary was located in the published literature. Studies were selected in order to achieve saturation of the field of CVOS (Dörnyei, 2005), and to include a representation of both international and Hungarian research attempts. The data of the international researchers were taken either directly from the authors (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Minkov, 2007; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1998; Inglehart 1997; ESS 2008), or from other studies citing their work (Trompenaars work in: Csath, 2008; Falkné, 2006; the GLOBE results in: Borgulya, 2006; Csath 2008; Triandis' in: Gelfand et al., 2011). A similar approach was taken concerning the Hungarian studies where direct sources (Csath 2008; Falkné 2006 and 2008; Kovács, 2006; Berger, 2005; Borgulya, 2006; Jarjabka, 2003) and indirect sources (the studies of Varga K.; Bakacsi Gy. and Takács S.; Heidrich B.; Primecz H.; as cited in: Jarjabka, 2003) were both included. The studies were examined for their results with relevance to Hungary. The examined studies used scores (from 0-100; Hofstede, 1980), descriptions ("worried about pensioner incomes"; ESS, 2008), or a degree of a labeling with a description ("high communitarianism - very high emphasis on social networks"; House et. al, 2004) to describe their results. When a study did not include results on a particular dimension, it was indicated with 'no data'. A sample analysis is shown with the work of Hofstede and the ESS studies in Table 6 below.

Relation to	Oneself and others					Context and circumstances						Time
Research project and Sample characteristics and time of data collection	HIERARCHY	IDENTITY	GENDER	PRIVACY	STATUS	CONTEXT	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS	EMOTIONS	NATURE & MOTIVATION	VIRTUE	TRUTH/ ANXIETY	TIME
Hofstede (Hofstede, 2001) (Varga K, 1983) 88 countries database Kolman et al. (2003) 100 business economics students, 1999	PDI 46	IDV 80	MAS 88	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	LTO 58	UAI 82	n.d.
ESS (2008) Representative samples, (n=7806) from 2002, 2004, 2006, also 2010	police but only about 18% are satisfied with the contact worried about pensioner incomes 56% (PDI because it is expected of the state to take care of pensioners)	low social and political trust (strong IDV) link between greater education and higher tolerance of immigrants (IDV) need for autonomy 80%(IDV) solidarity 65% (COLL)	many women are employed (FEM) but there is a low birth rate (MAS) solidarity 65% (FEM), permissive (FEM)	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	obedience to laws 92% (strong UNIV) 40% of respondents agreed that the police and citizens have the same sense of right and wrong police is seen as accepting bribes in more than half the time (score of 5,5 out of 8)	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	56% worried about pensioner incomes (UAI high) education leads to tolerance (UAI) 55% permissive to homo and first sex 55%(not prohibiting) (UAI low)	n.d.

Table 6. Sample analysis of the literature review of cultural value orientation studies, results on Hungary.
Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, n.d.: no data.

The various types of results on Hungary were brought to a common platform by transforming them first to a 5-level verbal scale (low, rather low, medium, fairly high, and high) with low being one pole of a dimension, and high being the other. The next step was to convert the 5-level verbal scale into a numerical scale (1-5) – 1 marking 'low' and 5 denoting 'high' – to allow for comparison of the different studies. The conversion scale is summarized in Table 7 below.

CONVERSION SCALE			
0-20	low	low, small	1
21-40	rather low	more, strongly weak a bit	2
41-60	medium	medium both	3
61-80	fairly high	more strongly weak fairly	4
81-100	high	high	5

Table 7. Conversion scale to bring the different types of data of the studies to a common platform.

A sample analysis for the verbal and the numerical scale respectively is shown in Tables 8 and 9 for the studies of Hofstede and the ESS survey on Hungary below.

Relation to	ONESELF AND OTHERS					CONTEXT AND CIRCUMSTANCES						TIME
	HIERARCHY (PDI HIGH)	IDENTITY (IDV)	GENDER (MAS)	PRIVACY (DIFF)	STATUS (ASCR)	CONTEXT (HIGHCON)	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS (PART)	EMOTIONS (AFFECT)	NATURE & MOTIVATION (OUTER)	VIRTUE (LTO)	TRUTH/ANXIETY (UAI)	TIME (POLY)
Hofstede (2001)	medium	fairly high	high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	medium	high	n.d.
ESS (2008)	82 - high 56 - medium fairly high	low political trust - high IDV education, tolerance - high IDV 80 - need for autonomy - fairly high IDV 65 - solidarity - rather low IDV fairly high	many women employed - low MAS low birth rate - high MAS 65 solidarity - rather low MAS permissive - low MAS rather low	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	92 obedience to law - low PART 40 - citizens and police same sense of right - UNIV - fairly high PART 68 bribes OK - fairly high PART fairly high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	56 -worried about pensioner incomes medium UAI education, tolerance - low UAI 55% permissive to homo and first sex - medium UAI 55 medium UAI medium	n.d.

Table 8. Sample analysis of the international literature review: verbal scale.
Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, n.d.: no data.

Relation to	ONESELF AND OTHERS					CONTEXT AND CIRCUMSTANCES						TIME
	HIERARCHY (PDI HIGH)	IDENTITY (IDV)	GENDER (MAS)	PRIVACY (DIFF)	STATUS (ASCR)	CONTEXT (HIGHCON)	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS (PART)	EMOTIONS (AFFECT)	NATURE & MOTIVATION (OUTER)	VIRTUE (LTO)	TRUTH/ANXIETY (UAI)	TIME (POLY)
Hofstede (2001)	3	4	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	3	5	n.d.
ESS (2008)	4	4	2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	3	n.d.

Table 9. Sample analysis of the international literature review: numerical scale.
Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, n.d.: no data.

Converting the original raw data of the international researchers to the numerical scale made it possible to calculate the mean and mode for each dimension and to provide an average picture for the cultural value orientation of Hungary based on the literature on the twelve dimensions established from the literature review. For the methodological reasons of calculating both the mode and the mean, see section 3.1.4 (p. 100).

3.1.2 Hungarian cultural value orientations in CVs and motivational letters

The second study was a qualitative examination of two genres of written communication to answer research question 3, namely, what the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary is in the light of more than 50 pieces of curriculum vitae and motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language in higher education, together with its sub-questions 3.1 to 3.4, namely:

(3.1) what cultural differences there are to be observed for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English

(3.2), which cultural dimensions lie beneath some of the difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English

(3.3)how the input of learning about writing a curriculum vitae and motivational letter in English or other languages influenced the output of the 50 learners of English as a foreign language in practice

(3.4) and finally, how Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language can be trained to adjust to the cultural differences of the genre of the curriculum vitae and the motivational letter.

A task was designed to examine whether the writers' Hungarian cultural thought patterns are noticeable in their EFL writings as Kaplan already suggested (1966, 1987), and as Bhatia reported on the phenomenon of the nativization of job application letters in South Asia. This phenomenon reflects a noticeable influence of cultural characteristics on the format and the content of the letters (Bhatia, 1993). The task for the present dissertation included a classified advertisement adapted from an online job posting that was recruiting flight attendants for an airline company. The original English text was kept intact as much as possible. Selection criteria presented in the ad such as height and work experience were left out to ensure the participants would not refuse to perform the task because of not fulfilling these requirements. Instructions were written in Hungarian to exclude misunderstanding of the tasks. Using dictionaries was allowed. Collaboration of students was not permitted, but writing in the name of an imagined character was offered instead of their real self. This was offered in order to alleviate the stress of giving private information or of other psychological pressures of participating in a new task. The

task was performed in a regular lesson (90 minutes) with the teacher present. As some students were absent at the time of the assignment, they were allowed to complete the task as a home assignment. One subset of the corpus was done completely as a homework assignment due to teaching restrictions at the given institution; nevertheless, these task sheets were analyzed together with the rest of the corpus as the place of completion did not influence the outcome of the task. The task sheets were collected immediately after the end of the lessons and given to the researcher afterwards, or in the case of some of the home assignments, they were forwarded via e-mail. The original written assignment can be seen in Appendix 1a, its translation follows in Appendix 1b.

In addition to the writing task, a questionnaire was designed to collect relevant information on the CV and ML writing practices of the participants (see Appendix 1c for the original questionnaire. A translation follows in Appendix 1d). It consisted of three parts, the first of which concerned personal data, years of language learning and whether the participant had ever written a CV or a ML, and if yes, on what occasion. The second part asked whether the participant had learnt how CVs should be written in Hungarian, in English or in any other languages. After each language there was an open ended question inquiring about what the participant had learnt about CV writing for that particular language. The third section of the questionnaire asked for similar information about ML writing, such as whether the participants had learnt anything about it, and if yes, what they had learnt. The questionnaires were distributed together with the writing task and filled in during the lessons or as homework assignment. A sample questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1c (and its translation in Appendix 1d). The writing task and the questionnaire were piloted with secondary school students originally (Furka, 2008), after which no adjustment was needed. The questionnaire data were examined for central tendencies and in the case of the open-ended questions, for extreme cases.

The procedures of analysis for the curricula vitae and motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English studying in higher education focused on cultural and rhetorical characteristics. As there was neither a definition, nor a sample structure available for the genre of the curriculum vitae in the literature, the collected CV sample was analyzed on the basis of the results established in the rhetorical analysis of CVs in the pilot study (Furka, 2008) by comparing the structural discourse characteristics of the CVs written by the students to the CV template established in the pilot version of this study (see section 2.4.1, Table 2). For example, it was checked whether CVs had nationality listed in them at all, or place of birth was included only, or whether the dates of work experience were included in a chronological or a backward chronological order, and what skills were mentioned. In addition, the style of the CV was also documented. A sample analysis is included below in Table 10.

Code number	CV6
Personal information	yes
Name	no
Address	no
Phone	no
Date of birth	yes, year
Email	no
Nationality	no, place of birth
Work experience	yes
Dates of work experience	no
Names of employers	yes
Responsibilities	no
Occupation/ position	yes
Education and training	yes
Dates of education and training	no
Names of institutions	no
Subjects/majors	no
Skills (general and others)	yes, languages in text
Cultural characteristics	narrative style, with ML moves, references included

Table 10. Sample CV analysis based on Furka (2008).

The motivational letters were investigated based on Bhatia's (1993) motivational letter framework and movement structure. The texts were divided into sentences or clauses and labeled with Bhatia's terms for the seven moves and the three sub-parts. The following table (Table 11) shows a sample analysis together with Bhatia's example letter where the letters are in the two middle columns and the moves in the outer columns.

Moves	**Bhatia (1993)**	**ML8**	**Moves**
Introducing candidature offering candidature (2a)	I wish to make application for a lectureship in the Department of English at this University.	I have read your advertisement about the job. I think I am a perfect candidate to this job.	**Establishing credentials**
Establishing credentials (1)	I have a Ph.D. in English from the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada, where I studied under such distinguished scholars as Professors K.R. Sisson and P. Hogg. I also have an M.A. in English from Napoli University.	I would really like to work as a cabin crew member.	**Introducing candidature** offering candidature
essential **detailing** of candidature (2b)	I have taught English at a number of American and Canadian educational institutions, including Purdue and Oklahoma universities. I have also taught at Lohis College in Tehran, Iran, where I had experience in teaching English as a second language. Currently I am on the staff of Riyadh university in Saudi Arabia.	I have great communication skills and I can contact people easily. I can work really hard and I don't mind doing overtime too. I fond of working.	indicating **value** of candidature
indicating **value** of candidature (2c)	I have written about ten research articles in the last seven years, all of which have been published in scholarly journals. I have also written two books, one on Shakespeare and the other on the teaching of writing, which are being published by Guelph University and will be out in a few months.	I can speak English and Spanish in an acceptable way. I have learned to swim when I was 2 years old, so it is not a problem for me.	essential **detailing** of candidature
Offering incentives (3)	My specialty is Shakespeare and Renaissance drama in general, but I am also qualified to teach a wide variety of other courses, including the Novel, Poetry, Composition, writing and teaching of writing and ESL.	I hope I can join to your team soon.	**Ending politely**
Enclosing	I hope this letter of 'application' will clarify some	I am looking forward to getting your reply.	**Soliciting**

documents (4)	of the information on the enclosed C.V., which outlines my qualifications, experience and research interests.		**response**
Using pressure tactics (6)	I am required to give notice to Riyadh in early April and therefore look forward to hearing from you soon.		
Soliciting response (5)	Since I do not have a telephone, I will be happy to call you should a telephone discussion become appropriate.		
Ending politely (7)	Thank you very much.		
Sincerely yours, signature			

Table 11. Sample text analysis with moves compared to Bhatia's example (1993, p. 60).

Finally, for the cultural value orientations the letters were analyzed in parallel with the move-structure analysis. On one hand, they were examined for the strategies of self-representation as several researchers (Bhatia, 1993; Hou and Li, 2011; Sii, 2005) had already reported on the cultural variation of the strategies of self-appraisal, self-glorification, self-degradation and adversary glorification. On the other hand, the letters or their subsections and their functions within the text were examined from the point of view of the cultural dimensions that were found in the literature review analysis as relevant for Hungary. This deep-level cultural value orientation analysis of the MLs looked for features such as terms, word usage, sentence structure and rhetorical characteristics, in addition to the overall discourse situation (i.e. starting communication with an employer in order to get a job) reflecting anything from the cultural dimensions of the literature review. For example, the sentences,

I can work really hard and I don't mind doing overtime too. I fond of working. (ML8)

express a willingness to work hard and a readiness to do overtime which reflects that the job seeker considers his/her position as subordinate in the job-hunting process. Such and similar features were then categorized into one of the twelve dimensions established from the literature review employing a similar method of analysis as in the case of the first study (see Table 7 on page 88). Thus, after deciding which dimension the particular item represents, it was categorized on the two poles of the given dimension. For example, the above item from ML 8 reflects an unequal distribution of power embedded in the situation that the applicant explicitly refers to. Such a situation is reported to be the case in societies with a tendency for high power distance (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998); therefore this item received a mark of 'high' PDI.

As opposed to the 5-level verbal scale used in the case of the first study, it was not possible here to establish so many levels in the data, only the tendencies towards either end of the dimension poles. It was thought best therefore to turn the overall tendencies on the dimensions into the verbal scale and then into the numerical scale the same way it was done with the literature

review data (see Table 7 on p. 88 for the conversion scale). This numerical data was then taken into consideration when the final composite mode profile for Hungary was calculated, as the labels could provide the tendency towards a given end of the continuum. Neither the size (52 letters admitted for analysis) nor the type (monocultural) of the corpus fit the requirements for the strict statistical procedures that were employed by top international researchers and their teams, for example Hofstede. Nonetheless, the results are significant enough to be included in a reflection of cultural tendencies underlying the ML corpus.

Finally, the number of words and the number of sentences were documented to see if they hold value for the cultural analysis of text production processes. The analysis was open to any additional characteristic reflecting cultural specifications which were also documented and categorized. A sample analysis is shown below (Table 12).

Code number	**ML8**
Gender	female
Move 1: establishing credentials	I have read your advertisement about the job. I think I am a perfect candidate to this job.
Move 2: introducing candidature Part 1: offering candidature	I would really like to work as a cabin crew member.
Part 2: essential detailing of candidature	I can speak English and Spanish in an acceptable way. I have learned to swim when I was 2 years old, so it is not a problem for me.
Part 3: indicating the value of candidature	I have great communication skills and I can contact people easily. I can work really hard and I don't mind doing overtime too. I fond of working.
Move 3: offering incentives	no
Move 4: enclosing documents	no
Move 5: soliciting response	I am looking forward to getting your reply.
Move 6: using pressure techniques	no
Move 7: ending politely	I hope I can join your team soon.
order of moves	1, 2a, 2c, 2b, 7, 5
Self-degradation adversary-degradation self-glorification self-appraisal	2c=self-glorification
letter format/style (address, ending, date, etc.)	letter format OK (target address, beginning, ending, signature on right
justification of application ("applying because…good at …so…"	I have learned to swim when I was 2 years old, so it is not a problem for me.
cultural characteristics	ready to do overtime – subordinate position, rather works more just to get the job – Power distance High
number of sentences	10
number of words (tokens)	107

Table 12. Sample analysis of a motivational letter based on Bhatia move structure, and self-representation strategies, format, justification, cultural characteristics, politeness, and number of words and sentences used.

3.1.3 Hungarian cultural value orientations reflected in personal perceptions

The third study focused on research question 4, namely, what the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary is in the light of interviews conducted with foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis. Sub-questions 4.1 to 4.4 were also covered by this study, and answers were looked for concerning what kind of intercultural misunderstandings occur when Hungarians and foreigners work together on a regular basis in Hungary or abroad (4.1), what cultural differences need to be observed by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when working with foreigners on a regular basis (4.2), which cultural dimensions lie beneath the misunderstandings between Hungarians and foreigners working together on a regular basis (4.3) and finally, how Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language can be trained to adjust to the misunderstandings that might occur in their communication with foreigners.

This part of the doctoral research targeted oral and/or meta-communicative behavior in as much as Hungarians working with foreigners and foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis were interviewed to map incidents of cultural clash and communication breakdown. Participants of these ethno-methodological interviews (Szokolszky, 2004) were chosen with convenience and snowball sampling techniques (Dörnyei, 2005) from the world of academia, business, and the expat community in Budapest. A semi-structured, open-ended interview schedule was designed to tap into the twelve dimensions drawn from the literature review. The instrument was piloted earlier (see Furka, 2011), as a result of which the original 22 items were expanded into 37 items to receive more precise raw data to render data analysis unambiguous (see Appendix 2a-b). The first few items asked the interviewees about their professional experience and background, language knowledge (Q1), if their company employed special policy in selecting them for working with foreigners/Hungarians on a regular basis, and how regular their contact was with foreigners/Hungarians (Q2-3). The next section of questions was phrased so as to elicit the general impression of the interviewees on the cultural value orientation of Hungarians in addition to the nature and origins of cultural misunderstandings (Q4-8). The rest of the questions (Q9-36) targeted the actual domain of the dimensions, and were phrased so that information on cultural values could be gained without influencing the answers of the participants. The interviews usually took about 60-90 minutes to complete, and I administered and recorded them personally during a meeting convenient for the interviewee, or via Skype if personal meeting was not possible to arrange. The interviews were later transcribed. 30 interviews were carried out; however, two interviews (one foreigner and one Hungarian) had to be excluded from the analysis as their transcription was not feasible due to poor recording conditions, thus leaving 14 interviews with Hungarians and 14 interviews with foreigners submitted for analysis.

The interviews were coded first. The foreigner interviews were coded IF 1-14 standing for Foreign Interviewee and the Hungarians were rendered a code IH1-14, standing for Hungarian Interviewee. The numbers within the two subsets of interviews were assigned randomly. The analysis involved identifying statements and/or anecdotes (henceforth 'items') reflecting the underlying values of Hungarians, and then categorizing them into the twelve dimensions identified earlier in the literature review. For example, the sentence

> I think, Hungarians about themselves and about other people they tend to kind of categorize people and say, you know, 'if you were like that in primary school that's what you're like and it won't change'. I think so. (IF1)

was categorized under the dimension LTO-STO as it concerned ideas about how flexible Hungarians think their self and personality is. Alternatively, sentences reflecting the behavior of Hungarians with respect to keeping rules were put under the dimension PART-UNIV, whereas anecdotes reflecting the difficulties of foreigners with the bureaucracy in Hungary were categorized under PDI or IDV, based on the nature of the issue in question.

As in the case of the first study, the orientation of the dimensions reflected in the interviews was determined first on a verbal scale, which was then turned into a numerical scale. However, with the interview items it was not meaningful to come up with a 5-level categorization. It was only possible to decide whether the items tended to lean towards one end of the dimension or the other, or whether the characteristics of both ends were present. Therefore, the verbal designations 'rather low', 'medium' and 'fairly high' were employed, with the extreme ends of 'low' and 'high' left out in order to reflect that such a dimensional analysis can and should only indicate tendencies, and not concrete levels of certain cultural characteristic, as there will always be the occasional exception that tones down the results. Thus, to indicate exclusively the tendencies in the interviews, the verbal designations of 'rather low', 'medium' and 'fairly high' were turned into the numerical scale of 2, 3, and 4 respectively. Last but not least, the tendencies of the items targeting the dimensions were calibrated with whatever dimensions came up in the answers to the more general questions. For example, if the answers to the PDI questions reflected high PDI, but an anecdote in another part of the interview reflected low PDI, the final result was marked as 'medium'. Or, if the results reflected medium PDI on the PDI items, but the general question showed even less strong PDI tendencies, then the result was calibrated to 'rather low' PDI for that interview.

The categorization of the items in the case of two thirds of the interviews (21 interviews) was performed by a second trained expert separately. The lowest inter-coder reliability ratio was above 86%, with a ratio of 100% in seven cases out of the 21 interviews, 92% in five cases, 89% in three, 92% and 97% in two cases each, and 91% and 86% with one case each. The main

difference between the codings was the slightly different interpretation of the dimensions AFF and IDV, in as much as coder 1 interpreted the fact that family is very important for Hungarians according to the interviewees as a feature belonging to the dimension of IDV-COLL, whereas coder 2 put these items under AFF-NEUT. In addition, being proud of themselves was interpreted by one coder as reflecting LTO based on the work of Minkov (2007) who says that national pride is a characteristic of monumentalist cultures that is parallel with the LTO-STO dimension of Hofstede (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010), whereas coder 2 found them reflecting AFF based on the definition of the dimension by Trompenaars (1998). Apart from these two issues all other items were categorized into the same dimension by the two coders, with occasional disagreements in the strength of the tendencies. This latter was reflected in the results by taking the average of the categorization of the two coders in the questionable cases. The following table (Table 13) summarizes the inter-coder reliability ratios for the 21 co-coded interviews.

Inter-coder reliability ratio 21 co-coded interviews	
100%	7
97%	2
94%	2
92%	5
91%	1
89%	3
86%	1
not read by the second coder	7
Total number of interviews	28

Table 13. Inter-coder reliability ratio for the interview analysis.

On the basis of the above procedures, it can be established that the degree of agreement between the two coders warranted a high level of inter-coder reliability. This, on the other hand, also ensured that the coding that was done by one coder only was reliable.

As a last step, the numerical results were submitted for basic statistical analysis that included the calculation of the mean and the mode for each item concerning the dimensions in the interview schedule, as well as the mean and mode for each dimension represented in the interview schedule. With such an analysis the results of the interview study are believed to be compatible with the Hungarian profile that emerged from the international literature review. A sample analysis of an interview is provided below in Table 14.

		item	IF4	IF4	IF4
Personal experience	Professional background	Q1 background	career in UK company, recruiting agency 27 nations, now teacher a decade here	career in UK company, recruiting agency 27 nations, now teacher a decade here	career in UK company, recruiting agency 27 nations, now teacher a decade here
	Intercultural experience	Q2 frequency of contact	daily	daily	daily
		Q3 IC in applicant?	yes as he is a teacher, native speaker	yes as he is a teacher, native speaker	yes as he is a teacher, native speaker
		Q4 HU values in general	MAS: women feed men, lack of trust, jealousy, PDI: bureaucrats =GODs, - (coder2: ASCR) family, mother in charge	MAS PDI ASCR	MAS PDI ASCR
		Q5 problematic situations	no specific but yes	no specific but yes	no specific but yes
		Q6 misunderstandings	a lot	a lot	a lot
		Q7 communication breakdown	yes	yes	yes
		Q8 nonverbal communication breakdown	a lot	a lot	a lot
ONESELF AND OTHERS	**HIERARCHY**	Q9 PDI hierarchy	PDI coder 2: why not stand up for what's coming out of the bureaucracy?	PDI fairly high	4
		Q10 PDI informal	PDI	PDI fairly high	4
	IDENTITY	Q11 IDV group vs. individual	IDV turn on each other	IDV turn on each other fairly high	4
	GENDER	Q12 MAS gender roles	MAS strict gender-related roles	MAS gender-related fairly high	4
		Q13 MAS competition	MAS turn on each other	MAS turn on each other fairly high	4
	PRIVACY	Q14 DIFF public vs. private	SPEC 2 private lives one public men can't relax and open up coder 2: DIFF for not finishing projects on time DIFF: no learnt to delegate and control	SPEC_DIFF rather low	2
	STATUS	Q15 ASCR respect	ASCR better connections and money don't get more respect only for politicians coder 2: ACH: intelligent women get respect	ASCR-ACH fairly high	4
		Q16 ASCR respect	no respect IDV PART ASCR for certain parts of society coder 2: ASCR: which political group you belong to	ASCR fairly high	4

CONTEXT AND CIRCUMSTANCES	**CONTEXT**	Q17 HC foreigner left out	LC because insecure of working without contract - could be UAI too	LC rather low	2
		Q18 HC explanations	HC but learnt to ask	HC fairly high	4
	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS	Q19 PART relationships	PART PDI OUTER loopholes, don't stand up for themselves coder 2: lack of trust in business	PART PDI OUTER fairly high	4
		Q20 PART rules	PDI believing other's words	PART fairly high	4
		Q21 PART exceptions	PART loopholes	PART fairly high loopholes	4
	EMOTIONS	Q22 AFF emotions	AFF	AFF fairly high	4
	NATURE & MOTIVATION	Q23 IN-OUT fatalistic	OUTER always somebody else telling you what to do - history	OUTER fairly high	4
		Q24 IN-OUT motivation	OUTER lack of can-do attitude	OUTER lack of can-do attitude	3
	VIRTUE	Q25 LTO risk	LTO	LTO fairly high	4
		Q26 LTO planning, expectations	STO immediate results - short-term profit	STO rather low	3
		Q27 LTO spending	STO can't see forward/tomorrow	STO rather low	2
		Q28 LTO personality	LTO	LTO fairly high	4
		Q29 LTO pride	LTO	LTO fairly high	4
		Q30 LTO service to others	STO suspicious, INNER at university, pessimistic later	STO INNER rather low	2
	TRUTH/ ANXIETY	Q31 UAI Truth	UAI high - frustrated	UAI fairly high frustrated	4
		Q32 UAI black and white	UAI low - grey, they break rules	UAI rather low - grey they break rules	2
		Q33 UAI unknown	UAI high - a nightmare to do anything out of the ordinary	UAI fairly high	4
		Q34 UAI change	UAI high	UAI fairly high	4
TIME	**TIME**	Q35 POLY deadlines	POLY - a joke	POLY fairly high	4
		Q36 POLY multitasking	gender based POLY	POLY medium, gender issue	3
		Q37 Other	Hungarians have pride in two failed revolutions (he doesn't see the fact that we celebrate the fact that despite the odds we went against the current regimes, and it was the	SPEC rather low LTO fairly high	SPEC LTO

			international community who let us down in both cases, even though we started them in both cases...) post offices: woman nice on phone to her daughter, then a dragon towards customer - SPEC		
		Inter-coder reliability ratio	35/37 94%	35/37 94%	35/37 94%

Table 14. Sample analysis of interviews.

3.1.4 Pulling it all together

As a final step of the doctoral research, the three profiles for Hungary's cultural value orientation from the three different studies were combed together to create a composite profile for Hungary to answer research question 5, that is, what the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary is from the data of the literature review, the curricula vitae and motivational letters, and the interviews. The analysis considered the similarities and differences that were visible in the data compared to already existing characterizations of the Hungarian cultural orientation of the literature review. Both the means and modes of the analyses were employed in the comparison as the mean always gives an average picture of a data set and results in softening the effect of extreme items (Babbie, 1998). The mode, on the other hand, reflects the feature most frequently occurring in the data set. The latter is highly useful when working with cultural dimensions, where statistical procedures are difficult to implement due to the diverse sources of data (Babbie, 1998). A thorough analysis and the collating of the results of the three studies yielded the answers to the sub-questions inquiring about further uses of the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary. Table 15 summarizes the basic characteristics of the three studies.

Study	Source of data	Instrument	Participants	Result
Literature review	Research articles and books	Cultural profiles	The participants in the original articles included teachers, students, and middle and higher level managers of international organizations, and representative samples of countries (see Table 1)	Hungarian cultural value orientation profile I.
CV and ML survey	Curriculum vitae and motivational letter written by Hungarian learners of English as a task	Job application task and questionnaire on CV and ML writing studies, practices	Altogether 70 students in higher education (intermediate or higher level of language knowledge, not majoring in English)	Hungarian cultural value orientation profile 2.
Interview study	Interview transcripts with 14 Hungarians working with foreigners and 14 interviews with foreigners working with Hungarians	37 item interview schedule, piloted and altered accordingly	Foreigners and Hungarians from the world of academia, business, and expat community in Budapest, Hungary	Hungarian cultural value orientation profile 3.

Table 15. Overview of basic characteristics of the three studies comprising the dissertation data.

3.2 Participants and setting

As the first part of the dissertation dealt with an overview and analysis of the literature of the field of cultural value orientation studies, only the second and third studies are mentioned here concerning the participants and data collection settings.

The research questions concerning the CVs and MLs were investigated based on data received from three groups of students in higher education. Participants were chosen by convenience sampling of teachers of English in higher education institutions (Dörnyei, 2005). At the time of data collection, Group 1 attended the Budapest University of Technology (BME), Group 2 consisted of students at the Budapest Business School, College of Commerce, Catering and Tourism (KKVF), and group 3 the Budapest College of Communication (BKF). Altogether 70 people participated in the CV and ML study. They had an average age of 20.6 years, ranging between 18 and 25, and have been learning English for 9.2 years at average, ranging between 4 years and 18. The most frequent years of learning were 10 years (mode). All students in Groups 1 and 2, and some in Group 3 had some type of an intermediate level (B2 level in the CERF system) language exam (Origo, IH, TELC, BME, or similar). Some of them had done it recently, others a year or two earlier. This information could have shed light on how active their English knowledge was, but even if it was possible to identify how long before the time of data collection they obtained their successful exams, it would not have been possible to determine how actively they used English in their everyday lives, or how this usage might have influenced their level of knowledge after the language exam.

The 70 participants unfortunately did not complete both the tasks and the questionnaire accompanying them. However they produced a complex set of data, consisting of 56 CVs, 52 MLs and 67 questionnaires. The numbers of data providers in the three categories are as follows: 41 females and 15 males for the 56 CVs; 39 females and 12 males for the 52 MLs (one participant wrote a cover letter and a motivational letter as part of the task. Since the cover letter showed the exact characteristics of a motivational letter as defined by Bhatia, that letter was submitted to analysis as an ML also. As a result, there is ML14a and ML14b, and the 52 letters were written by 51 participants); and 52 females and 18 males for 67 questionnaires.

The participants for the interviews were chosen by snowball sampling (Dörnyei, 2005) and consisted of eight females and 20 males with an average of 10 years of intercultural work experience. The participants were from countries including Hungary, the USA, Scotland, England, Germany and Japan. All of them speak English at or above intermediate level, and 11 of them are native speakers of English. Seven of them had some level of Japanese skills, six of them German, four of them Russian, three French, and two people speak Chinese. Eleven of the interviewees work in the private sector, one was a student in a MA program at the time of the interview, and 16 are from the world of academia specializing in arts or sciences. Their age was between 23 and 62. A summary of the participants of the CV and ML and the interview study and their background is shown in Table 16 below.

Study 2	**Participants**			**Setting/Background**
	Gender	Average age	Average years of learning English	
	52 females (74%) 18 males (26%)	20.6	9.3	Higher education (BKF, BME, KKVF)
Questionnaires	49 females (73%) 18 males (27%)			
CVs (56)	41 females (73%) 15 males (27%)			
MLs (51 or 52 – explained later in section 4.2.3 on p. 161)	39 females (70%) 12 males (30%)			
Study 3 Foreigners Hungarians Altogether	3 females (21%) 11 males (79%) 5 females (36%) 9 males (64%) 8 females (28%) 20 males (72 %)			Private sector World of academia

Table 16. Overview of main characteristics of participants and settings.

3.3 Trustworthiness and limitations of the research methods

3.3.1 Trustworthiness of the research

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), four criteria of research must be kept to ensure the high standard of quality in qualitative inquiries. One of them is credibility, which refers to the confidence in the 'truth' of the findings, i.e. that whatever the results, they in fact reflect the essence of the observed phenomenon taking place in reality. The second criterion is that of transferability which is achieved when the results and conclusions of the research may be extended to other contexts as well. The third one is dependability that is supposed to ensure that the findings are indeed consistent, and a new round of data collection and analysis would yield the same results. Finally, the fourth component necessary for the trustworthiness of research is confirmability which covers the idea of neutrality in the study, i.e. the idea that researcher bias, motivation or interest did not distort the findings in any way.

For achieving trustworthiness several techniques may be relied upon (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The present qualitative research relied on the method of triangulation for credibility and confirmability. First of all, the *triangulation of sources* ensured that the phenomenon in question was adequately captured. This was achieved by using different sources of data, such as pieces of written text, qualitative and quantitative data published in previous works of research, and reflexive thoughts of interviewed subjects, to build the database. Then, the *triangulation of methods* connected to the collecting of data from different sources made sure that the ideas and insights of participants involved in the phenomenon of intercultural encounters was captured adequately. For this several types of data collection methods were employed, such as administering a task to learners of English to produce the written texts, conducting interviews to get a deeper insight on the nature and cause of intercultural conflicts, and analyzing the literature systematically. Thirdly, *analyst triangulation* was employed as well, in as much as intra-rater reliability was ensured by analyzing the ML-corpus twice with an elapsed time of a month in between the time of the two analyses (Szokolszky, 2004). In addition, due to the sensitive nature of interpretation of the framework of analysis, inter-rater reliability was also ensured by double coding. Two expert and trained second coders were employed to analyze a smaller amount of the data of the curricula vitae and the motivational letters, as well as the interviews. The results of the second coders were compared to the first coder, and dubious cases were discussed to seek agreement concerning categorization of items, or to find other possible patterns or interpretation of the data. Finally, the *triangulation of perspective and theory* was also adhered to (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) in as much as the data from the literature review contained results from research with various methodological backgrounds, the ML corpus was examined from the point of view of

several theories including CVOS, Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson, 1987) and Face-negotiation theory (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998).

For transferability, the technique of thick description was used, which resulted in a thorough description of the contexts, the participants and the methods of data collection and data analysis. Finally, the research process was further complemented by inquiry audits for establishing dependability in as much as reporting was held at regular intervals to avoid misleading interpretation of the data and concluding biased results.

3.3.2 Limitations of the research methods

The limitations of the doctoral dissertation entail several issues. Firstly, no matter how trustworthy the present exploratory study intends to be by employing thick description and methods of triangulation, the interviews investigate the restricted contexts of academia, business, Hungarians living abroad and the expat community in Budapest, which cannot be considered a representative sample for the whole of Hungary. On the other hand, these groups are the ones who are highly likely to be involved in intercultural communication.

Secondly, the investigation of the motivational letters covers a single genre of written communicative behavior, which may not account for difficulties in other forms of written behavior that might be culturally determined, thus cannot form the basis of generalizable conclusions. Then again, writing a motivational letter is one of the most important steps, if not the most important one, for a successful job application process where intercultural conflict may arise with an increasing chance as the job market is greatly dominated by multinational companies in Hungary.

Thirdly, business people and expatriates can be blamed for being over-motivated to talk about their cross-cultural experiences, and by being so, they might not be objective enough. Furthermore, university students might have less experience in writing motivational letters due to their reasonably limited work experience. Concerning the over-motivation of interviewees, it is an asset when giving one's insight on a topic as it can provide rich data that provides the opportunity for deep-level investigation. As for the sample of university students for the written text-production, they form the potential workforce of the future, and thus they are the ultimate target audience of the present research as they can provide ideas for foreign language teachers as to what needs to be adjusted in the present practice of teaching this significant genre of written communication.

Furthermore, as the construct of culture is rather complex, explaining to interviewees what the focus of the research actually was seemed to endanger the purity of their answers sometimes. Last but not least, receiving a meaningful answer to an interview question without actually giving

words into the mouth of the interviewee was occasionally a challenge. Therefore the cues had to be formulated very carefully in order to help but not direct the respondents.

4 Results of literature review, CV and ML, and interview studies

4.1 The Hungarian CVOP in general: an analysis of the relevant literature

In order to answer the question what cultural dimensions should be used when establishing the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary (research question 1), an analysis of the literature was implemented. Concerning what the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary is in the light of the existing foreign and Hungarian research and literature (research question 2); the data on Hungary published in the relevant literature was examined as described in the Review of the literature chapter (section 2.2.2, p. 22). As a result, a unified twelve dimensional framework was created to be the basis of further research activity, and a diagnostic tool was defined and labeled cultural value orientation profile to help describe Hungarian cultural value orientations.

4.1.1 The twelve dimensional framework: creating the starting point for analysis

The literature review of the field of CVOS revealed that researchers were indeed able to trace back the daunting cultural diversity of behavioral patterns to a fairly limited number of cultural dimensions or groups of cultural characteristics. The theoretical background section of this doctoral research already discussed the dimensions and characteristics in detail that CVOS work with (see section 2.2.2). The following table (Table 17) summarizes the cultural dimensions and categories employed by the major international researches carried out so far.

Researcher(s)	Hofstede	Trompenaars-Hampden-Turner	Hall	GLOBE	Schwartz	WVS	ESS	Triandis	Minkov
Dimensions Or Characteristics	PDI high-low IDV-COLL MAS-FEM UAI high-low LTO –STO	ascription-achievement, IDV-communitarianism, instrumental/ functional-social, integrative - analytical relation to nature, diffuse-specific, particularism – universalism, sequential-cyclic time conception, neutral-affective	Context dependent, (high-low) poly-mono-chronic, Territoriality, (high-low)	PDI in-group collectivism (social network pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness), institutional collectivism, performance orientation, gender egalitarianism, assertiveness, humane orientation, UAI (rules to avoid unpredictable), future orientation	hierarchical-egalitarianism, autonomy-embeddedness, mastery-harmony,	secular/rational-traditional, survival-self-expression	trust dropped, education leads to tolerance, solidarity, obedience to laws, need for autonomy, women employed, low birth rate, worried about pensioner incomes, education leads to tolerance, permissive,	vertical-horizontal, ascription-achievement, individualism - collectivism, cultural complexity, active-passive, instrumental-expressive, diffuse-specific, tightness, universalism-particularism, emotional, expression-suppression,	exclusionism-universalism, monumentalism – flexumility, indulgence vs. restraint,

Table 17. Cultural dimensions and/or characteristics in the reviewed international studies.

Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, POLY: polychronic time conception, MONO: monochronic time conception.

Table 17 lists nine international research projects that have presented main contributions to the field. As Hofstede was the pioneering one in the field in modern times of research, he has column number 1 with his dimensions of power distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity – femininity, uncertainty avoidance – uncertainty tolerance, and long and short-term orientation. The work of Trompenaars and Hampden – Turner follow as they are the closest to Hofstede's work in popularity. Their dimensions include ascription – achievement, individualism – communitarianism, instrumental/functional – social, integrative – analytical or diffuse – specific, particularist versus universalist, sequential – cyclical time conception, and neutral – affective. Edward Hall and his three dimensions concerning context, time and territoriality follow as his work was groundbreaking at the time in cultural anthropology. The GLOBE study worked with power distance, individualism – collectivism, performance – humane orientation, gender egalitarianism, uncertainty avoidance, future orientation. Shalom Schwartz grouped the cultural characteristics of his research into the dimensions of hierarchy – egalitarianism, autonomy – embeddedness, and mastery – harmony. Furthermore, Inglehart from the World Value Survey suggested two major dimensions, namely the secular/rational – traditional and the survival versus self-expression dimensions. The ESS project provided descriptions of the characteristics of cultural phenomena and avoided labeling, so some of the descriptions used in that project are listed instead of names of dimensions. Triandis has been using a more detailed, 10 dimensional system with dimensions such as vertical – horizontal power distance, ascription-achievement, individualism – collectivism, cultural complexity active-passive, instrumental – expressive, diffuse-specific, tightness, universalism-particularism, and emotional expression – suppression. Minkov, on the other hand, claims to count only three dimensions as vitally important in cultural differences, exclusionism vs. universalism; indulgence vs. restraint, and monumentalism vs. flexumility.

The above discussion shows that the diverse frameworks of cultural dimensions and characteristics are inconvenient to manage. It is assumed possible here, however, to bring the diverse frameworks closer to each other to provide a manageable system that covers all major issues of cultural value orientation research, one that can serve as a starting point for data collection and analysis.

Partly as a result for the need to establish validity, partly for disagreeing over technical and theoretical issues, some of the research projects have checked whether each other's dimensions correlate with one another or not (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010; Smith, 2006; Minkov, 2007). Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) present detailed comparisons of the Hofstedian dimensions with other studies and projects, such as the GLOBE, the WVS and several replication studies. Smith (2006) discusses the theoretical differences of Hofstede and the GLOBE

project, and Minkov (2007) correlates his data with WVS (Inglehart, 1997), Hofstede (1980), the GLOBE project (House et al., 2004), and several other studies. Trompenaars (1995) does not report statistical information on the correlation of his set of dimensions, but nevertheless refers to similarities and differences between his system and other frameworks. Triandis also compares his cultural syndromes to other frameworks (Triandis, 2004).

Correlation is a statistical procedure used to support the reliability of the existence of certain phenomena as it shows whether two features, or variables, of a sample vary together (Szokolszky, 2004). The correlation coefficient shows how strong the relationship between the two is. Its value can range from 0.00 to 1.00, from no relationship to a strong one. It may be negative as well, since the relationship of the two features might be that they are each others opposites, but they still appear together. If the correlation coefficient is ± 0.90, 81% of the differences in one feature can be predicted if we know the other. If the coefficient is ± 0.80, 64% of the variance is explained by one feature in the other, if it is ± 0.70, 49% of the differences in one feature are connected to the other, etc. For a large amount of data in social sciences even a correlation coefficient of ± 0.40 is accepted, even though it explains only 16% of the variance (Hofstede and Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). This is assumed acceptable since a large number of factors are at play at the same time in case of social phenomena.

The comparison of results and paradigms shows that there is not only misleading labeling concerning the names, but also overlaps in the content of the cultural dimensions set forth by different research projects exist. For instance, even though the GLOBE project claims to have derived its power distance definition from Hofstede's dimension of identical name, Hofstede's PDI was found not to correlate with it (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). Rather, a weak statistically significant correlation was found between Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance dimension and the GLOBE power distance, whereas Hofstede's power distance correlated with the GLOBE's in-group – collectivism dimension. Hofstede finally concluded that the GLOBE and his project measured separate phenomena under the name of power distance (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010). The secular-rational versus traditional authority dimension derived from the analysis of the World Value Survey by Inglehart was found to correlate with small versus large power distance (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010). Furthermore, Hofstede's individualism dimension strongly correlates with Inglehart's well-being – survival dimension, but Hofstede's femininity and small power distance also correlate with it in a declining order respectively (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010). Minkov (2007) furthermore showed that the well-being – survival dimension may be separated into two: indulgence versus restraint which reflects cultural differences in happiness; and exclusionism versus universalism that deals with in-group and out-group relationships.

To make things manageable, based on the results of the researchers' work of cross-checking each other and the theoretical derivation from the definitions of the dimensions, it is possible to summarize the framework of nine major international research projects into a twelve-dimensional framework (Table 18). This is arranged in a fashion so that the dimensions appear in the same column where overlaps in content were obvious.

Relation to	Oneself and others					Context and circumstances						Time
	Hierarchy	Identity	Gender	Privacy	Status	Context	Rules vs. relationships	Emotions	Nature & motivation	Virtue	Truth/anxiety	Time
Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov (2007)	Power Distance (high-low)	Individualism-collectivism	Masculine-Feminine							Long-term orientation –Short-term orientation	Uncertainty avoidance (high-low)	
Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1998)		Individualism-Communitarianism	instrumental/functional - social	Specific diffuse	ascription-achievement		particularism – universalism	neutral-affective	Analytical-integrative/inner-outer oriented			sequential-cyclic and synchronic time conception,
Hall (1973, 1976)		Territoriality (ownership)		Territoriality (clear cut spaces)		Context high-low						POLY-MONO-chronic
GLOBE (House et al, 2004)	PDI (not same as Hofstede's) In-group collectivism (correlates with Hofstede PDI)	In-group collectivism (social network, pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness), institutional collectivism	Performance orientation, gender egalitarianism, assertiveness, humane orientation							future orientation	UAI (rules to avoid unpredictable) PDI	
Sagiv & Schwartz (2000)	hierarchical-egalitarianism	autonomy-embeddedness	hierarchical-egalitarianism mastery-harmony						mastery-harmony			
WVS (Inglehart, 1997)	secular/rational-traditional/religious	secular/rational-traditional/religious									survival-self-expression	
ESS (Davidov, 2008)	Satisfaction of contact with police, Worried about pensioner incomes,	trust dropped, education leads to tolerance, solidarity, need for autonomy	Women's employment birth rate				obedience to laws (part-uni),				worried about pensioner incomes, education leads to tolerance, permissive	
Triandis (2004)	vertical-horizontal,	individualism - collectivism, cultural complexity,	active-passive,	Diffuse-specific, Cultural complexity	ascription-achievement, universalism-particularism,	cultural complexity,	Tightness Universalism-particularism	emotional expression-suppression, instrumental-expressive	active-passive			

Minkov (2007)	monumentalism-flexumility (obedience and deference to authority, religiousness, acceptance of large income differences)	exclusionism-universalism (individualism-collectivism as in Hofstede)	indulgence vs. restraint (birth rate) monumentalism-flexumility (low-high profile) Exclusionism - universalism		monumentalism-flexumility (educational achievement) exclusionism-universalism (identify with in-group, and more worthy because of relatives fame)	Exclusionism - universalism	indulgence-restraint (illegal substance abuse) exclusionism-universalism (nepotism, rejection of 'western rule of law)		exclusionism-universalism (little concern for environment) monumentalism-flexumility (low religiousness, flexible beliefs)	indulgence-restraint (thrift) monumentalism-flexumility (little tipping and generosity)	indulgence-restraint (restrictive-permissive sexual norms , monumentalism-flexumility (adaptability to foreign cultural environments, dialectical thinking)	exclusionism-universalism (punctuality)

Table 18. Cultural value orientation dimension frameworks of nine international researchers.

Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, POLY: polychronic time conception, MONO: monochronic time conception. DIFF: diffuse, SPEC: specific, AFFECT: affections, NEUTR: neutral, PART: particularism, UNIV: universalism, OUTER: outer motivation, INNER: inner motivation. CON: context. FLEXUM: flexumility (from flexible and humility), EXCL: exclusionism, REST: restraint

The first column of Table 18 lists the researchers or the research projects' name. Thomas's work was left out of this comparison as his kulturstandard method did not result in dimensions that were comparable to the other researchers' paradigms.

The dimensions found in the literature cover the major issues of life, communication and time that societies must somehow relate to which may be grouped into the categories of relating to *oneself and others*, to *context and circumstances* and to *time* (Holló, 2008) as these three areas reflect the type of relations that mankind is defined by in the universe, as it is discussed in philosophic-anthropology as well. The first row of Table 18 shows first the label for the group of dimensions that answer the question of what kind of relationship there may be between the members of a particular society (oneself and others). The label summarizing the dimensions that answer the question of what kind of relationship with circumstances and context is preferred in a society (context and circumstances) comes next. Finally, how a society relates to time (time) is shown. The second row contains issues the three main relation types may be divided into. For example, the issue of oneself and others may be divided into the matters of hierarchy, identity, gender, privacy and status. Context and circumstances may be divided into the issues of context, rules vs. relationships, emotions, nature and motivation, virtue, and truth/anxiety. The final issue of time is left undividable.

From row three onward, the rows contain the dimensions the international research projects researched arranged into the issues they reflect. Starting point was the Hofstede (1980) paradigm as it launched the intensive research into cultural value orientation. Therefore the first dimension is power distance (high versus low) which reflects a culture's attitude to the issue of hierarchy. The question of how identity is viewed in any given culture is answered by the tendency to lean towards individualism or collectivism in the Hofstedian system, or communitarianism in Trompenaars' (1995) system. Masculinity versus femininity of Hofstede (1980) addresses the issue of gender, long versus short-term orientation concerns what virtue means for a culture, and uncertainty tolerance versus avoidance reflects how truth and uncertainty is handled. Then, in Trompenaars' system (1995) the diffuse versus specific dimension concerns privacy, and ascribed versus achieved status refers to the type of status one may have in a society. Particularism versus universalism is connected to the choice one makes between favoring rules over relationships. Emotions may be hidden (neutral) or shown (affective), the attitude to nature and motivation may be inner versus outer. Hall (1976) talks about instances of cultural behavior that reflect high versus low context cultural values, and how time is viewed (polychronic or monochronic), which is also covered by Trompenaars (1995) (sequential or cyclical). In cases the researchers used descriptors instead of labels; therefore those descriptors are written in the table under the issue where they fit based on the researchers' definitions (see Davidov, 2008).

The dimensions or descriptors of the research projects are arranged in a way in Table 18 to show overlaps in the frameworks based on the definition of the dimensions or the correlation results provided by the researchers. Concerning the first issue, hierarchy, Hofstede (1980) and the GLOBE project (House et al., 2004) both named one of their dimension power distance, but Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) claim Hofstede's power distance shows the strongest correlation with the GLOBE project's in-group collectivism 'as is' dimensions, among other GLOBE dimensions. Therefore in the GLOBE project row in Table 1 under the hierarchy column only in-group collectivism is listed, and the GLOBE power distance is put under truth/anxiety, as suggested by the correlation results of Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010, p. 63). One of Schwartz's dimensions also concerns hierarchy (Schwartz and Boehnke, 2004), and Inglehart's (1997) traditional-secular dimension includes supporting the deference to authority, so these are both listed also under hierarchy. Triandis' vertical-horizontal dimension belongs here as well, as this dimension also deals with hierarchy (Triandis, 2004), and Minkov's (2007) monumentalism-flexumility dimension has elements reflecting the topic of hierarchy in as much as monumentalist cultures tend to accept what their authorities tell them, which reflects the acceptance of unequal distribution of power within the society. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), Hall (1976), and the ESS (Davidov, 2008) did not come up with anything comparable on the topic of hierarchy; therefore those squares are left empty.

The second issue is that of identity. Hofstede's individualism-collectivism dimension (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010) and Trompenaars' (1995) individualism-communitarianism both cover the ranges of possible answers to the question of what kind of identity one has in a given culture: one which stands out from the crowed and its uniqueness is celebrated, or one which is thought of as a member of the community in the first place. Therefore these two dimensions both appear in the identity column. As Hall's territoriality examines the types of ownership cultures favor, it is put here under identity because it goes hand in hand with individualism in as much as ownership tends to be important in a culture where the individual is highly valued. In a collectivist culture ownership as an individual would not be as highly valued. Schwartz's embeddedness versus hierarchy also reflects issues connected to the question of what is more important: the individual or the community. In addition, both collectivism types of the GLOBE project belong here, together with Inglehart's traditional-secular dimension with its importance on conformity (i.e. not sticking out reflects collectivism), and the self-expression-survival dimension's importance on expressing oneself that puts the individual in paramount position. Minkov's exclusionism-universalism covers the essence of Hofstede's individualism-collectivism, as does Triandis' dimension of the same name. The ESS examined the attitude to

trust, education and the need for autonomy and solidarity. The first three are connected to individualism, and the latter reflects collectivism.

The gender egalitarianism dimension of the GLOBE study (House et al. 2004) is based on identical ideas as the masculinity vs. femininity dimension of Hofstede (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010; House et al. 2004) inasmuch as they both address the issue whether social roles are distributed equally among males and females or not. Therefore, they both belong to the issue of gender. In addition, in the case of the GLOBE project, the assertiveness, the performance orientation and the humane orientation dimensions also belong here as they were derived from the splitting up of Hofstede's masculinity vs. femininity dimension (House and Javidan, 2004). Inglehart's survival vs. self-expression dimension (1997) and Minkov's indulgence vs. restraint deals with gender roles (Minkov, 2007), so they are put under the dimension of gender as well. Triandis' active-passive dimension (Triandis, 2002a) differentiates between cultures on the basis of how much they cooperate and emphasize the importance of getting along with others, which is similar to Hofstede's femininity definition. Schwartz's (1994) hierarchy-egalitarianism and mastery-harmony both include issues that are the same as in Hofstede's definition for this dimension, namely the acceptance of equal distribution of roles and the importance of self-assertation in mastery cultures. Trompenaars' instrumental-social dimension (Trompenaars, 1995) reflects the masculinity-femininity dimensions of Hofstede (1980) and is therefore put under the issue of gender as well. The ESS (Davidov, 2008) asked questions about the employment habits of women, which is related to the distribution of social roles, and looked at the birth rate percentages. These are all connected to the issue of gender.

Concerning the issue of privacy, Trompenaars' (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998) specific-diffuse dimension, Triandis' dimension of the same name (2004) and Hall's territoriality (Hall, 1976) address the question of where the borders of one's private sphere end both in space and in social situations. In addition, Triandis' (2004) cultural complexity partly belongs here, as it refers to the complexity of the structure of societies, reflected in the type of settlements, for instance. The more complicated settlements appear in a culture, the more complex it is, and the more need there is to treat privacy in a specific way.

The last issue that relates to the problems of oneself and others is status, which is described by Trompenaars' (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998) and Triandis' (2004) ascribed versus achieved status dimension, and the GLOBE project's performance orientation dimension (House et al. 2004) as they examine whether people are rewarded for their performance (achieved status) or not (ascribed status).

The second big group of issues deals with how societies react to the problems of context and circumstances. Context was mostly examined by Hall (1973), who defined high versus low

context cultures and said that high context ones are usually also low on territoriality. He argues that when much is taken for granted, there is no need for an overt expression of ownership, so territoriality does not matter that much. Trompenaars (1995) adds that high context cultures tend towards particularism in as much as relationships are more important for them than performing the task at hand, or keeping the rules and regulations. One could say therefore that context and rules vs. relationships seem to go hand in hand; nevertheless, context was given a separate slot as Hall's identification of this issue is a formidable point in CVOS. It can primarily be paralleled with Trompenaars' writing about universalism vs. particularism (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998). Furthermore, context includes the ideas that Trompenaars created a separate dimension for under the name universalism vs. particularism. Finally, Triandis' cultural complexity may also be categorized under context as it describes a culture's attitude to structures (Triandis, 1972). He says that the size and arrangement of settlements reflects a society's complexity, which in turn is parallel with how much they rely on stated or unstated information.

The next major issue is that of rules versus relationships. Trompenaars (1995) created the dimension of universalism versus particularism that reflects a society's tendency to favor rules over relationships. As it was mentioned above, this goes hand in hand with high versus low context cultures. The ESS project (Davidov, 2008) examined the respondents' obedience to law, and Triandis also has a dimension identical to Trompenaars universalism – particularism (Triandis, 2002a). In addition, Triandis has a dimension called tightness, which specifically deals with how some societies are strict in following rules and regulations, and others are looser (Gelfand et al 2011).

The issue of showing emotions was examined on the neutral versus affective dimension by Trompenaars (1995), expression-suppression by Triandis (2002a), and survival – self-expression by Inglehart. The attitude to nature and motivation appears in Trompenaars research as analytical-integrative or inner versus outer. Schwartz examined it in his mastery versus harmony dimensions (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000), Inglehart put it in his survival – self-expression in as much as protecting nature is concerned (1997), and Minkov's indulgence versus restraint dimension (Minkov, 2007) includes the feeling people have about control over their lives which resonates to Trompenaars' inner versus outer control distinction of cultures. Finally, Triandis (2002a) has the active-passive dimension that defines cultures along whether they try to change the environment around them (active), or rather adjust to fit the circumstances (passive). Hofstede's other main dimension of long versus short-term orientation represents cultures' attitude to virtue (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). In a short-term oriented culture people tend to live for today and spend their earnings freely, whereas in long-term oriented societies thrift is highly valued. The same idea is captured by Minkov's indulgence versus restraint dimension (Minkov 2007), and the

GLOBE project's future orientation (House et al, 2004). In addition, Minkov's monumentalism versus flexumility dimension (Minkov, 2007) includes the differences in the practice of tipping, which is connected to the dilemma of generosity versus being thrifty; therefore it is listed under virtue as well.

Inglehart's survival-self-expression dimension (Inglehart, 1997) deals with the same question as that of Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance/tolerance index (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010), namely, the attitude of cultures towards ambiguity or absolute truth, so they are both put under truth/anxiety. However, Inglehart's traditional-secular dimension also has an element that is in connection with avoiding or tolerating uncertainty, and that is the tendency for protectionism in traditional societies (Inglehart, 1997). The GLOBE project also worked with an uncertainty avoidance dimension, identical to Hofstede's (House and Javidan, 2004). Finally, the ESS project (Davidov, 2008) asked questions of the respondents that may be grouped under truth/anxiety, namely, education (higher education leads to tolerance of others and unexpected situations, therefore tolerance of uncertainty), worry over pensioner years (fear of uncertainty when not working anymore, being at the mercy of others), and whether societies are permissive or not (fewer rules give space for more deviation from the norm, which is a source of uncertainty).

Finally, the time orientation of Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) (sequential versus cyclical), and the time and future orientation dimension of the GLOBE project (House et al, 2004), together with Hall's clustering of societies on the basis of how they view time (monochronic versus polychronic) (Hall, 1976) all examine the attitude of cultures to time, so they appear in a column labeled Time.

The table illustrates how all researchers have been collecting data on identity, and gender, and quite a few on truth/anxiety. In addition, hierarchy and virtue were also examined frequently. The literature review of CVOS yields a framework that contains twelve dimensions covering major issues addressed by the various research projects, and covers most of the phenomena of cultural differences in value orientation. Table 18 above shows well that the work of these research projects proved the possibility of reducing the complexity of the phenomenon of culture for scientific purposes.

The aim of the present doctoral research was to provide a comprehensive picture of the cultural value orientations of Hungary. Therefore a framework was identified based on which data collection and analysis could be based. The twelve issues of hierarchy, identity, gender, privacy, status, context, rules vs. relationships, emotions, nature and motivation, virtue, truth/anxiety and time listed in Table 18 were taken as a starting point for identifying the characteristics of the Hungarian cultural value orientations, which is discussed in the following section.

4.1.2 CVOS on Hungary by international research projects

The analysis of the literature of CVOS highlighted the fact that the number of dimensions employed in researching cultural value orientation is hard to manage. The different labels used by different research projects for dimensions that are essentially the same or are very close to each other, makes it very difficult to design research that can fit the existing frameworks and yields results that are easily interpretable. This need to establish a unified framework resulted in the twelve-dimensional framework presented above in Table 18, pp. 110-111.

After selecting the twelve most researched aspects of national cultural value orientations from the dimensions used by the most prominent researchers of the field of CVOS, the next step was to collect data on Hungary in order to establish the characteristics of Hungarian culture value orientations on a national level to inform foreign language education practices in Hungary. Several attempts have been made to put this country on the cultural map both by foreign and Hungarian researchers. The following section looks at results of the international CVOS mentioned earlier in the theoretical background, and research projects carried out by Hungarian researchers follow. Then the results on Hungary by the international research projects and the Hungarian ones are compared to see if there are any differences due to the cultural mind set of the researchers involved. Finally, a concise cultural value orientation profile is suggested based on the findings of the literature review.

As Hofstede's work was pioneering in the field, his set of data on Hungary was examined first. His scores for Hungary on his website currently are:

Cultural Dimension	**Score out of 100**	**Rank out of 76 countries**	**Interpretation**
power distance (PDI)	46	55	rather low power distance
individualism (IDV)	80	4-6	strongly individual
masculinity (MAS)	88	3	strongly masculine
uncertainty avoidance (UAI)	82	26	rather high uncertainty avoidance
long-term orientation (LTO)	58	34-35	medium long-term orientation

Table 19. Hungarian dimensional scores in Hofstede's system.
http://www.geerthofstede.eu/dimension-data-matrix

For the interpretation of these scores one has to turn to the key differences that Hofstede established with the help of his data analysis methods. Hungary scores rather low on power distance (score of 46 out of 100, rank 55 out of 76). According to Hofstede's findings (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010), some of the characteristics of small power distance countries include the tendency to prefer to minimize inequalities, therefore parents and children or teachers and students treat each other as equals, educational policy focuses on secondary instruction (p. 72), initiatives come from the interdependent partner, privileges and status symbols are normal

and popular, white-collar jobs are valued more than blue-collar jobs (p. 76), scandals end the political career of the ones involved (p. 83), and power is used legitimately to follow the criteria of good and evil.

On Hofstede's second dimension Hungary has a score of 80 (rank 4-6 out of 76 countries) towards the individualism pole of the dimension (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). According to this, individualistic countries tend to prefer a societal structure where the nuclear family is widespread, friendships and marriage partnerships are voluntary and should be fostered, resources are owned individually even by children, low context communication prevails (p. 113), children learn to think in terms of "I", showing happiness is encouraged, but displaying sadness is discouraged, and the media as opposed to the social network is the primary source of information (p. 117). Other tendencies for individualistic countries are higher occupational mobility, higher self-respect due to having diploma(s), hiring and promotion decisions based solely on merit and the prevalence of individual interest over collective interest (p. 124).

On the masculinity-femininity dimension Hungary has a score of 88 (rank 3 out of 76). According to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010), as a strongly masculine society, in Hungary challenge, earnings, recognition and advancement are important; men should be assertive while women caring; the father should earn and the mother should care for the family; boys are not allowed to cry, but are encouraged to fight back; and girls play to be together whereas boys play to compete (p. 155). Furthermore, women's ambitions are channeled towards men's success; performance for a man may be exploitation for a woman; and sexual harassment is a big issue and homosexuals are felt to be a threat to society. (p. 159). In addition, the best student is the norm, and praise is kept for excellent students; failing in school is a disaster; and it is women who teach young children (p. 165). What is more, more money is preferred over more leisure time and rewards are based on equity (p. 170). Finally, careers are compulsory for men but optional for women; the economy should grow because big is beautiful; immigrants should assimilate; and religions approve sex for procreation rather than recreation (p. 180).

The uncertainty avoidance dimension received the score of 82 in Hungary (rank 26 out of 76) which reflect a strong uncertainty avoidance tendency (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). According to this, the uncertainty inherent in life is something that must be fought, aggression and emotions at proper time and place may be displayed, neuroticism, stress and anxiety prevail, dirty and taboo things are tightly ruled, and what is different is considered dangerous (p. 203). In addition, students are comfortable in structured learning situations and are concerned with the right answers as opposed to good discussions, and more people feel unhappy (p. 208). Overall motivation is by security, and there is an emotional need to be busy and an inner urge to work hard (p. 217). Citizens are negative toward politicians, civil servants and the legal

system. Outsiders observe more corruption, citizens should be able to identify themselves at all times by their identity cards, and scientific opponents cannot be friends (p. 223).

Finally, on the long-term orientation dimension Hungary scored 58 (rank 34-35 out of 76 countries) (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). This means leaning towards long-term orientation, but not to a major extent. Long-term orientation is characterized by thrift and sparing with resources, sustained efforts towards slow results, the willingness to subordinate oneself for a purpose, mothers caring for their preschool children instead of giving them in day-care to others, the practice of living with in-laws as a norm (p. 243). In addition, these societies do not show a tendency for the need of cognitive consistency, i.e. arguments are seen as useful and forward-driving instead of causing havoc, and thinking is synthetic, not analytic (p. 251).

Scores for Hungary published in Hofstede's books were derived from data collected for other studies as there was no IBM subsidiary at the time that Hofstede carried out his original research. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) mention that in such cases country scores were calculated by Hofstede from "informed estimates" and results from replication studies. This was the case for Hungary as well. Heidrich (2001) cites Varga (1983) as Hofstede's data source; whereas Hofstede himself referred to Varga (1986) as the data source for his estimates for Hungary (personal email communication). In addition, Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) refer to Kolman et al. (2003) who carried out a replication study that included data collected in Hungary. These pieces of information are important as individual scores from the different studies may differ significantly, leading the readers to unjustified conclusions.

Kolman et al. (2003) and Hofstede (2001, pp. 501-2) describe what the estimation procedure entails for a replication study, and how "informed estimates" are arrived at. Kolman et al. (2003) estimated the positions of four Central European countries, The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland, on Hofstede's five dimensions to gather information on the attitudes and expectations of these countries on joining the European Union. Any data collected on cultural value orientations is meaningless in itself unless the cultures in question are compared to each other. Data collected on four countries may only be informative of the cultural orientations of those countries in comparison to each other. In order to ensure that the scores would also be comparable to Hofstede's larger database and the established scores therein, Kolman et al. (2003) used an estimation and calibration procedure. Data was collected with the help of the VSM 94, a revised and expanded version of the original IBM questionnaire that Hofstede based his results on, the development of and validation procedure of which was reported in Hofstede (1994). The data collection took place in 1998 and involved matched samples of 100 business and economics students from the above mentioned four Central European countries and The Netherlands as well. The Dutch sample was used for establishing a valid comparison of results. Though the samples

were not representative of the populations of the countries, as it is the difference in orientation between the cultures that is researched, it is argued that the same difference in cultural orientation would be reported on a representative sample as well (Kolman, et al. 2003; Hofstede, 2001). The samples showed a certain amount of variation in age distribution, so items were correlated with age, but no systematic relationship was found. Therefore, age bias was ruled out as a possible source of contamination of the results. The more significant differences in gender representation in the samples were controlled for by calculating country scores separately for males and females first, then taking the average of those country scores.

These steps of analysis ensured that the scores of each country were comparable to each other. But to be able to compare the results to other cultures as well, the scores needed to be comparable to Hofstede's database, by then (at the time of data collection) including 50 countries in three regions of the world. The Dutch sample was included for this purpose in the research of Kolman et al. (2003). The scores of this Dutch sample were compared to the original IBM Dutch sample. There were some differences in the two Dutch samples, so the differences of scores were added to or subtracted from the scores of the Kolman et al. (2003) sample as needed for each dimension in the case of each country. For example, the IBM score for the Dutch on power distance was 38, the Kolman et al. (2003) sample showed 14, therefore the power distance score of each country score was calibrated with +24. For the IDV dimension, a calibration of +3 was needed, for MAS+ 31, for UAI +16, and for LTO -5. The resulting calibrated scores of the Kolman et al. (2003) study then were comparable to other Hofstede scores, thereby allowing the contrast of the cultures of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland with other cultures not included in the Kolman et al. (2003) research. The findings showed that the Central European countries differed greatly from the western cultural mindset, but there were significant differences among themselves as well. Kolman et al. (2003) finally arrived at the calibrated scores of PDI 74, IDV 59, MAS 102, UAI 89, and LTO 59 for Hungary.

In order to understand Hofstede's scores for Hungary, they need to be compared to other culture(s), which is shown in Table 20 in relation to those of the USA. According to Hofstede's analysis, the American national culture displays a slightly lower power distance than the Hungarian one (PDI 40), it is a bit more individualistic (IDV 91), less masculine (MAS 62), and is fairly tolerant of uncertainty (UAI 46).

	PDI	IDV	MAS	UAI	LTO
USA	40	91	62	46	29
Hungary	46	80	88	82	58

Table 20. The cultural profiles of Hungary and the USA based on Hofstede's website (www.geerthofstede.eu) as of July 9, 2012.

Though these scores do not prognosticate how each American or Hungarian person might behave, they help to represent where differences in value orientations might occur, which in turn might be linked to behavioral habits (Smith, Peterson and Schwartz, 2002). In the case of Hungary and the USA, the biggest difference is shown in tolerating uncertainty. This might predict that Hungarians tend to prefer stability and relatively static situations, whereas Americans tend to have less problems or stress with frequent changes and constant challenges. Translating this into a Hungarian business situation, this could mean that the ever-demanding management of an American company operating in Hungary will have to make do with employees being grumpy about workload and complaining about the lack of vision seen in the acts of the management. This ultimately can lead to loss of motivation and a high fluctuation of the workforce, thereby causing loss of revenue for the company. From a language teaching point of view, the uncertainty avoiding nature of the Hungarian culture might be reflected in students not tolerating the flexibility of word classes in English, or when meeting people from the American culture they see them as 'happy-go-lucky' people and think they must have a very easy life if they are so happy all the time, whereas it is rather a difference in the attitude to life and its problems, and problem solving in general (Minkov's indulgence vs. restraint, or Inglehart's survival vs. self-expression dimensions).

According to Hofstede's ranking, Hungary is similar in power distance relations to the cultures of Trinidad and Jamaica. With respect to the level of individualism it is close to The Netherlands, UK, and Canada; it is as masculine as Japan and Austria; it avoids uncertainty as Mexico and Turkey to a similar extent, and considers the future in a similar way to Thailand and Singapore. It must be emphasized again that these rankings are significant only when the cultures are compared to each other on the dimensions. They suggest that the similar positions reflect similar values, which in turn entails a smaller possibility for conflict in the given dimensional characteristics. Clustering cultures along their similarities are not only logical from a theoretical point of view as they inform management and intervention theory, but managerial and practical practices also make use of these information, as it has been proven that doing business in cross-border situations is less risky when the business partners are similar to each other in their cultural value orientations (Gupta, Hanges and Dorfman, 2002). Cluster classification furthermore helps identify cultural attributes found worldwide (Gupta, Hanges and Dorfman, 2002). It is argued in this dissertation that when teaching a foreign language in an environment that is culturally radically different, difficulties might arise that otherwise could be prevented or bridged in case of having the proper information and insight on cultural value orientations of the cultures involved.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner used data collected directly from Hungarian managers (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998). Unfortunately, despite direct inquiry from Peter

Woolliams who is in charge of data analysis and management at Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner Services (THT), no reply was received on the size of the Hungarian sample as of date. Trompenaars' exact dimensional positions for Hungary were formulated from several items of his questions (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998). For instance for the universalism-particularism dimension, three items provided insight into the cultural characteristics of Hungarian managers, whereas one item was used for the affective – neutral dimension and two for the ascription – achievement dimension. The results for each dimension are described in what follows.

The Hungarian results tend to be mixed for the universalist - particularist dimension, as 85% of the respondents would not lie to the police to save their friend, 67% would not write a false review or give no right to a friend to expect to be helped, which again show a universalist tendency, but 43% of the respondents would tone down their doubts in favor of a friend; a characteristic reflecting particularist values.

For individualism – communitarianism it is a mix again, as only 56% of the Hungarian respondents would opt for individual freedom to improve the quality of their life. However, 84% of them like to be allowed to work individually in an organization, and like it when credit is given individually. Finally, 66% of the respondents think responsibility for a mistake should be taken by the individual, and not the group. These answers lean Hungarian culture slightly towards individualism.

Concerning the freedom of showing negative emotions 55% of the respondents thought it is acceptable to let emotions be expressed in a work environment, which reflects a minor affective tendency. On the diffuse-specificity dimension Hungary has a place at the end of the diffuse pole, which is reflected in the opinion that only 11% of the respondents would help their boss paint their house, (a specific attitude), but 83% of the interviewed Hungarian managers agree that their employees' accommodation problems are the companies' problem as well. This tendency is supported by other researchers' results (Borgulya, 2000; Kainzbauer-Brück, 2000, as cited in Csath, 2008).

Concerning the achievement-ascription dimension, 81% of the respondents agree with acting as it suits them even if nothing is achieved, which reflects a high ascription tendency, whereas only 17% agree that respect depends on family background. This, on the other hand shows less influence of ascription values. Trompenaars leaves at the simple statement that this is possible as aspect of ascription vary from culture to culture. On how much Hungarians think respect is attributed to them due to their family background, Csath (2008) reports a 68% response in her overview of Trompenaars' work on Hungarian culture. Based on Trompenaars' database (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003), Hungarians tend toward long-term planning (5.25 out of

7.00), and are outer-directed as only 28% of the Hungarian respondent believed it is worth trying to control the environment.

On the instrumental/functional – social dimension, Hungarian managers tend to think of an organization as a group of people having a social relationship with each other and the company (Trompenaars, 1993 as cited in Csath, 2008). In a later analysis (Hampden-Turner – Trompenaars, 2000, as cited in Csath, 2008), the characteristics for Hungary were defined as the tendency towards particularism, polychronic time orientation, medium-to-strong individualism, specificity, ascribed status, and a preference for outer control. In this work Trompenaars put Hungary in a culture cluster together with Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Greece, Poland, Russia and the former Yugoslavia. This seems to show that the political tendencies that played part in the recent history of these countries resulted in their having similar cultural value orientations. In addition, this supports the idea that the basis for clustering cultures should be a religious/linguistic/geographical grouping (Gupta, Hanges and Dorfman, 2002). Table 21 summarizes Trompenaars' data on Hungary (Trompenaars 1993, as cited in Csath, 2008; Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003 and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998).

Dimension	**Item scores on Hungary**	**Tendency from items**
universalist - particularist	85% would not lie to the police to save their friend 67% would not write a false review or give no right to a friend to expect to be helped, which again show a universalist tendency 43% would tone down their doubts in favor of friend, a characteristic reflecting particularist	Strong universalist Fairly universalist Rather particularist
individualism – communitarianism	56% would opt for individual freedom to improve the quality of their life. 84% like to be allowed to work individually in an organization, and like it when credit is given individually, too 66% think responsibility for a mistake should be taken by the individual, and not the group	fairly individualist Strongly individualist fairly individualist
emotions	55% thought it is acceptable to let emotions be expressed in a work environment	Weak affective
diffuse-specificity	11% would help their boss paint their house 83% agree that their employees' accommodation problems are the companies' problem	Strong specific Strong diffuse
achievement-ascription	81% agree with acting as it suits them even if nothing is achieved, 17% (Trompenaars Hampden-Turner, 1998) (or 68% as cited in Csath, 2008) agree that respect depends on family background	Strong ascription Weak achievement
instrumental/functional – social	tend to think of an organization as a group of people having a social relationship with each other and the company	Social tendency
short vs. long-term orientation	long-term planning (5.25 out of 7.00)	Strong long-term tendency
inner vs. outer-directed	28% believed it is worth trying to control the environment.	Rather outer directed

*Table 21. Trompenaars' results on Hungarian cultural orientations (*Trompenaars 1993, as cited in Csath, 2008; Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003 and Trompenaars and Hampden.-Turner, 1998).

The GLOBE project also used data collected directly in Hungary from participants working in business organizations (House et al., 2004). Researchers at the Budapest University of Economics joined the worldwide project with data on 184 Hungarian middle managers of 16 companies (six food industry and 10 financial institutions) (Bakacsi, 2008). By today, the database includes more than 2000 questionnaires that confirmed the smaller sample results (Bakacsi, 2008). At the level of general results, the GLOBE project put Hungary within the Eastern European cluster together with Albania, Georgia, Greece, Kazakhstan, Poland, Russia and Slovenia. This cluster was characterized as having high power distance, strong family and group cohesion, and a strong tendency for sticking to cultural roots compared to other regions in the world (Jarjabka, 2010). The results also suggest that Hungary handles uncertainty well (the last but one position out of 61 countries!), has a short-term orientation in planning ahead (58th position out of 61), power distance is high, but in-group collectivism is medium strong (position 37). However, Hungary is the second most individualist country in the GLOBE project and humane and performance orientation is not at all a characteristic of this culture. Hungary at the same time accepts women in other, non-traditional roles (3rd place); but assertiveness is also quite strongly valued (8th place). The GLOBE results for Hungary are summarized in Table 22 below.

	World average	Hungary	Position of Hungary (out of 61 countries)	Interpretation
Uncertainty avoidance	4.16	3.12	60	Weak uncertainty avoidance
Future orientation	3.87	3.21	58	Strong short-term orientation
Power distance	5.15	5.56	12	Strong power distance
Individualism/collectivism (COLL1)	4.24	3.53	2	Strong individualism
In-group collectivism (COLL2)	5.12	5.25	37	Medium in-group collectivism
Human orientation	4.09	3.35	58	Weak human orientation
Performance orientation	4.09	3.43	58	Weak performance orientation
Gender egalitarianism	3.40	3.23	3	Gender egalitarianism
Assertiveness	3.86	3.23	8	Strong assertiveness

Table 22. The GLOBE project results for Hungary-7 point Likert scale averages and position of Hungary on each dimension (as cited in Jarjabka, 2010).

Schwartz was one of the first to collect data on cultural value orientations from non-organizational participants. In his survey of elementary school teachers and college students in 40 countries (Schwartz and Sagiv, 1995) it is argued that elementary teachers are relevant participants as they have a substantial role in the value acquisition process of members of a society. College students were included in order to see a different segment of the population, thus achieving results that could be generalizable for a whole nation, and not only the organizational world. Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) published a co-plot map of the dimensional positions of the 57 countries that were included in an extended data collection phase. A co-plot map is a shortened version for a conditioning plot, a form of representation of data that enables the researcher to demonstrate three or more variables at the same time and see whether there are any effects of

interaction among them (Yu and Behrens, 1995). Schwartz's co-plot map is presented below where the arrows point towards the 7 orientations from a center. The line drawn is for autonomy - embeddedness.

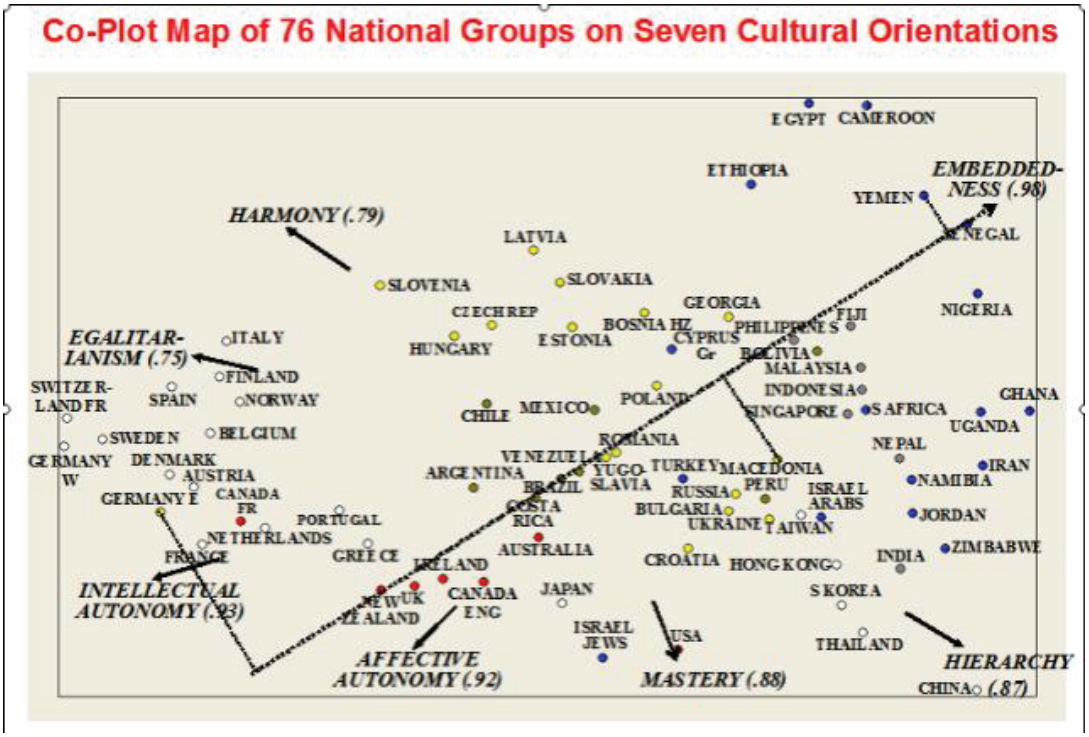

Figure 1. Schwartz's co-plot map of national groups on seven cultural orientations. Retrieved from http://www.filination.com/blog/2007/02/06/the-culture-map-cultural-orientations-for-national-groups/ . The red dots reflect the English speaking countries, the yellow represents Eastern Europe, and the blue ones are Middle eastern or African countries.

Schwartz's sample from Hungary included 141 teachers and 166 students and the data were collected in 1990 (Schwartz and Sagiv, 1995). The research design was based on the participation of teachers and students in order to provide insight into the values of a population different from the usual samples of cultural value orientation studies. In addition, students and teachers take part in situations that form the basis of value formation. According to the results, Hungary has a fairly top-central position in the co-plot map. Unlike other Eastern European countries (Estonia, The Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Poland, Russia, and Slovakia), which have a tendency to emphasize harmony and embeddedness as opposed to mastery and intellectual and affective autonomy, Hungary is strongly oriented towards harmony and egalitarianism, and a little bit towards intellectual autonomy. This is reflected in characteristics as the wish to fit harmoniously into the environment, that is, have unity with nature, protect the environment and look for world peace (harmony). There seems to be little competition within the society, social and environmental implications are taken into consideration, and non-exploitative ways to achieve goals are favored (egalitarianism). People are thought to be moral equals, there is a transcendence of selfish interests in favor of voluntary behavior that promotes the welfare of others, and people

are socialized to feel concern for everyone's welfare. Individuals are to pursue their own ideas and intellectual directions independently, and curiosity, broad-mindedness, and creativity are highly valued (intellectual autonomy) (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000). As seen earlier, these dimensions are described by Hofstede as femininity, low power distance and individualism respectively. By now, Schwartz's database includes over 75,000 respondents from all inhabited continents in 76 countries (Schwartz, 2006).

Another survey collecting data in Hungary was the World Value Survey (WVS) by Ronald Inglehart (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart and Baker, 2000). It has had five waves of data collection in the past 30 years. The whole WVS database and information on the surveys are available for free download and direct online analysis (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). The technical documentation of the data collection revealed that results for Hungary area based on data that was acquired in 1981, 1991, 1998 and 1999. The fifth wave (2005-2008), as published on the WVS website, currently does not have a Hungarian component, though TÁRKI was employed to collect data in 2009 (http://www.tarki.hu/hu/research/gazdkult/kutatas.html). Data collection was organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Gallup Ltd. and the Szonda-IPSOS Ltd in two occasions. Sample sizes were 1464, 999, 650 and 1,000 in the years respectively. Sampling techniques, reported for each year on the WVS website (http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSTechnical.jsp?Idioma=I), were decided upon in order to provide a representative picture for the population. Therefore, urban and rural areas were included from the different regions of the country, and all districts of Budapest were aimed to be represented. Interviews were carried out face-to-face in Hungarian by interviewers who were pre-trained for the questionnaire to be used.

The nation-level mean value scores on the traditional/secular-rational and the survival-self-expression dimension for Hungary for the four waves are listed in Table 23 below.

	Traditional vs. secular-rational	Survival vs. self-expression
Hungary 1981	.17	-1.07
Hungary 1991	.46	-1.06
Hungary 1998	.79	-.77
Hungary 1999	.40	-1.22
Mean	.45	-1.03

Table 23. Nation-level mean value scores on the traditional/secular-rational and the survival-self-expression dimension for Hungary 1981-1999.

It shows from these scores that Hungarians tend to lean toward the secular-rational end of this dimension (0.45 on a scale between -2.00 and + 2.00) because respondents held parent-child relationships not that important, authority and absolute standards were not completely taken for granted, and divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide not rejected per se. On the dimension of

survival – self expression Hungarians tend to lean toward survival with a mean – 1.03 – on a scale between -2.00 and + 2.00. This result was achieved because Hungarian respondents' answers reflected the need to have economic and physical security instead of having a quality life where one can focus on subjective well-being.

There is a minor fluctuation in the scores over the waves. For the traditional versus secular-rational dimension, the scores are .17 and .46 for 1981 and 1991 respectively. A ten year difference between the data collection may result in such change. However, the index in year 1998 is .79, which is even more interesting as year 1999 goes back to .40 with only one year of difference in the time of data collection. A similar tendency may be observed for the scores on the survival dimension with the score for wave three; year 1998 shows a less strong tendency for survival. It would be interesting to see if the fact that 1998 was election year in Hungary had anything to do with this change in the scores. It is certainly noticeable and reflects a shift towards more secular and subjective well-being values. A shift in this direction is defined as the necessary element for modern democracy (Inglehart, 2008). Is it possible that the prospects of a political change made people shift their values and respond differently? Alternatively, was their desire for an economically better life disguised in the shift? It is also true that "everything went back to normal" in 1999, that is, approximately to the same scores as in 1991. However, without excluding sampling errors, or other methodological issues that may have caused this shift, it is impossible to draw firm conclusions.

The WVS team created a visual representation of the world's cultural values based on the data (Figure 2 below).

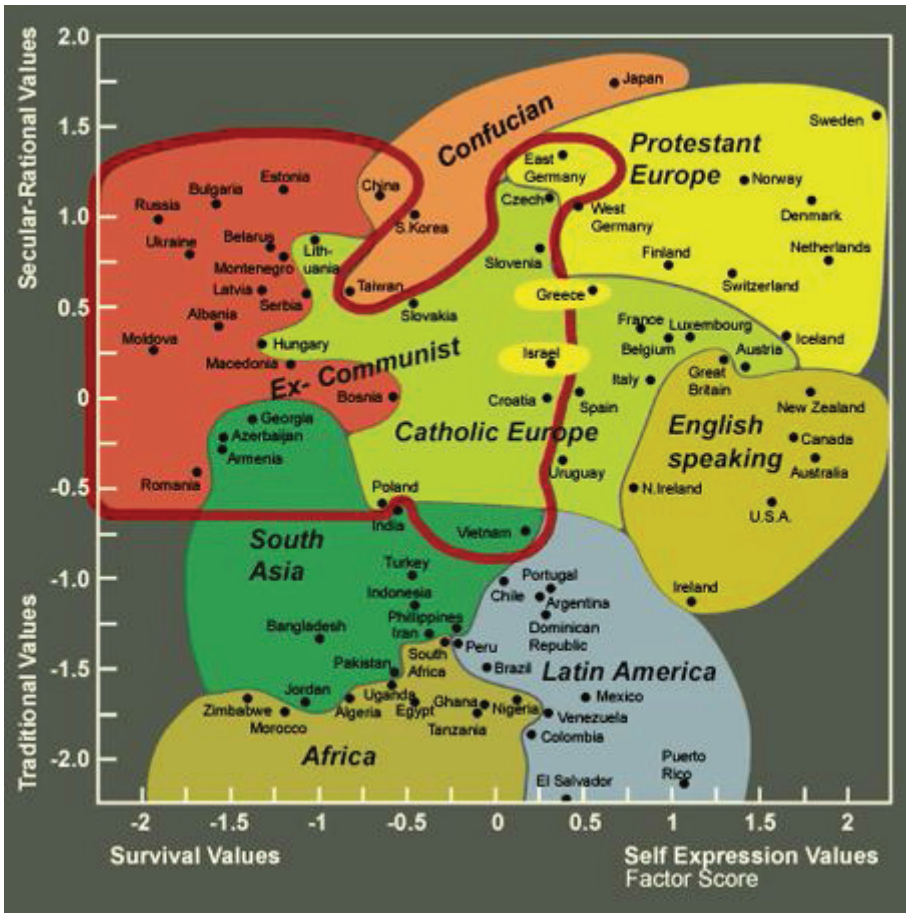

Figure 2. The cultural map of the world along the traditional vs. secular-rational values and survival vs. self-expressions values prompted by the WVS data 1999-2004. Retrieved from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs/articles/folder_published/article_base_54

The two dimensions form the two axes of the figure, which run from -2.00 to + 2.00. Countries are positioned in the coordinate system according to their factor scores. The colored 'bubbles' indicate clusters of countries that are similar in their cultural orientations. It is possible to identify geographic regions (Africa, South Asia, Latin America and Europe), linguistic commonality (English speaking), religious (Catholic and Protestant), and political-philosophical (Confucian, ex-communist). Hungary is on the left border of the Catholic Europe bubble within the ex-communist cluster. The fact that many ex-communist countries are also representatives of an orthodox religious tradition might be due to the long-lasting historical-political influence of the first the Turks, then the Russians. It might well be, however, that the prevalence of the orthodox trend in these regions itself is the result of the values pertaining to these cultures originally. The English speaking cultures have a position on the right middle section of the map, leaning towards self-expression values and in the middle between traditional values and secular-rational ones.

The European Social Survey (ESS), based on Schwartz's value theory, has been collecting data since 2002. In the five waves carried out so far, altogether 7806 Hungarians were interviewed face-to-face on the topics of media use and trust; politics, including political interest, efficacy, trust; subjective well-being, social exclusion and religion; gender, age and household

composition; socio-demographic information; human values orientations; and other data for documentation purposes. As mentioned earlier, the database is free for downloading or online analysis. Hundreds of publications using the ESS data are listed in an online bibliography on their website (http://ess.nsd.uib.no/bibliography/). A general findings booklet was issued based on the data of the first three rounds, and in 2011 a series of ESS Topline Findings was launched to provide concise cross-national summaries on the topics of the ESS questionnaire, the first of which addresses the issue of trust in justice institutions. Results concerning Hungary are reported here from these two publications.

The ESS data shows that 56% of the Hungarian participants are worried about whether pensions will sustain them in their retirement age. Social and political trust has dropped from wave one to wave three (from mean scores 4 to 2 on a scale of 0-10). Many women are employed but there is a low birth rate, and findings show a link between the level of education and the tolerance of immigrants. In addition, the survey found there is importance attached to six civic virtues that form the image of the 'good citizen'. In Hungary, these virtues are important to citizens in the following way: electoral participation – 71%; political involvement – 24%; civic participation – 32%; solidarity – 65%; obedience to laws – 92%; and the need for autonomy – 80%. Similar results have been obtained for the rest of Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic). 55% under the age 40 are permissive towards homosexuality and first sex before marriage. This was contrary to expectations as the former Eastern block is considered Catholic and orthodox, a religious attitude that usually predicts a prohibiting societal structure. Data from 2006 shows that 20% of employees had their professional skills upgraded, even though they had the odds of less than 0.2 to do that. In addition, lower status occupations had less chance of developing their skills than managerial or professional position workers. Finally, the ESS also found that overall life satisfaction grows with the number of years spent in education (ESS Findings Booklet, 2008). According to the recent results on trust in justice (Jackson et al., 2011), about 37% of Hungarian respondents are stopped, approached or contacted by the police but only about 18% are satisfied with the contact. Concerning how often the police makes fair and impartial decisions (the procedural fairness of the police), 38% of the Hungarians replied that not at all or not very often as opposed to often or very often. Of the respondents, 60% said they thought police would treat poor people more unfair than rich people, 42% thought courts would find person from the minority race or ethnic group guilty more often than the majority. Courts are viewed as making fair and impartial decision based on evidence in more cases than not (scores of 6 out of 8), but only 40% of respondents agreed that the police and citizens have the same sense of right and wrong, nevertheless more than 60% would obey police instructions. Finally, police is seen as accepting bribes in more than half the time (score of 5.5 out of 8).

The results of Minkov (2007) for Hungary are also included in this overview of Hungarian cultural value orientation results of international research projects, as he established his own dimensional framework, even though it shows strong correlation with Hofstede's widely discussed dimensional paradigm. In addition, Minkov did not collect his own data for his investigations; he rather used mostly the WVS database from 1999-2002. As a result, he does not publish exact indices for Hungary's position on the exclusionism – universalism and the indulgence versus restraint dimension, and even for the monumentalism – flexumility dilemma he works with estimated scores. He claims that such practice is acceptable treatment of data, as countries geographically close to each other have been shown to cluster in the same position for dimension scales (Minkov, 2007; Gupta, Hanges and Dorfman, 2002), and results for Hungary may be equaled with results for Eastern Europe. On the exclusionism – universalism dimension, he found the Eastern European countries to tend towards universalism, on the indulgence – restraint his analysis put them a little towards restraint. Finally, on the monumentalism – flexumility dimension Eastern European countries are towards flexumility. In the present analysis, however, only the monumentalism-flexumility dimensional score of Hungary (115, 43rd place out of 57 countries) is taken into consideration, as some cross-national studies, for example Kolman et al. (2003), already showed that Hungary tends to hold culturally different orientations from its neighbors.

From the research projects introduced in the theoretical section of the dissertation only Hall and Triandis remain. No matter how influential his system of context, time and territoriality is, Hall does not have any data on Hungary, so he cannot be included in a synthesis of cultural value orientation results for Hungary. Though Triandis himself did not collect data from Hungary either, Gelfand et al. (2011) working with his cultural dimension framework published some information on Hungary's cultural value orientation position. The score for Hungary on the dimensions of looseness versus tightness was 2.9, where the maximum was 12.3. According to this, Hungary tends to be a very loose society. The definition of looseness suggests that cultures leaning towards it have weak societal norms and tolerate deviant behavior well.

Section 4.1.2 above reviewed what kind of, if any, data there exist in the international literature on the cultural value orientation of Hungary. The following section looks at research projects that have data concerning the cultural value orientation of Hungary.

4.1.3 CVOS on Hungary by Hungarian researchers

Concerning the cultural value orientation of Hungary, Csath (2008) summarizes the results of Hofstede and Trompenaars put forward in detail above, but she also mentions some qualitative studies and Hungarian research projects as well. For example, she talks about the results of the

extended STRATOS (Strategic Orientation of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises) survey led by Pécs University Economics Department, the results of which partly confirm the results of the GLOBE project. In the Hungarian STRATOS, middle managers of small Hungarian enterprises were found to:

focus on profit,
put emphasis on social relations to the extent of forming workplace cliques,
be willing to face conflicts,
try to avoid paying taxes,
prefer family to business,
avoid bringing employees into the decision making processes,
demand respect,
prefer if they are not controlled within the company,
like loopholes in rules and laws,
treat rules flexibly
like changes,
and ignore planning too far ahead (Csath, 2008).

Falkné (2000, 2001, 2006, and 2008) also investigated Hungarian cultural value orientation characteristics. In her overview of intercultural communication in management (Falkné, 2001) she discusses the previous results of Hofstede, Hall and Trompenaars and using Hall's framework claims that Hungarians tend to have a mixed polychronic and monochronic characteristic, inasmuch as Hungarians tend to start meetings on time, which is a monochronic characteristic, whereas social orientation prevails and relationships are more important than deadlines, which is a characteristically polychronic feature. As Hall states that polychronic cultures are usually high context ones as well (Hall, 1976), this puts more emphasis on the polychronic characteristic of the Hungarian culture, where the participants of both written and oral interaction expect the receiver to read between the lines (Furka, 2008).

Falkné's (2000) own research findings support some of the previous results. During a six year period, she collected data to examine the Hungarian organizational culture in the framework of Hofstede, Trompenaars and Hall with the help of in-depth interviews with more than 300 managers and employers of multinational companies working in Hungary. In the interviews she asked about the respondents' preconceptions of Hungary before they encountered intercultural misunderstandings, then she asked them about these incidents. She also collected data on the respondents' position within the firms, their length of stay in Hungary and their language knowledge. The results of Falkné (2000) suggest that foreigners working in Hungary see Hungarians having a tendency towards hierarchy in their relations, which reflects a larger power distance preference. In addition, her results suggest that Hungary belongs to a culture permitting the display of emotions. The boundaries of professional and private life are not clear cut; tasks are not solely attributed to specific social roles (c.f. Trompenaars' diffuse dimensions). For instance,

emphasis is laid on socializing before making business even if it is only a cup of coffee before getting to the point. Thus, from the Hungarian point of view, the more to the point, direct way of negotiating business usually attributed to Americans seems dry and insulting to Hungarian businesspeople. In sum, Falkné found in her interviews that on the dimensions of Hofstede, Trompenaars and Hall, Hungarians display a greater power distance, are more collectivist (though the younger urban generation tends toward more individualist values), tend to avoid uncertainty, focus on long-term orientation more, are more particularist, diffuse, emotional and outward oriented, higher context dependent, polychronic oriented and more masculine when compared to the examined American and British organizational cultures.

Kovács (2006) researched Hungarian organizational culture with reference to the connection between national cultural characteristics and competitiveness. His research applied only Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's framework, with an adapted questionnaire of the original one. He asked 500 Hungarian middle or higher level managers between the age of 40 and 59 from both profit and non-profit organizations in order to compare his results with Trompenaars. His findings show that Hungarian culture seems to favor achieved status orientation together with neutrality, both of which have proved to be in strong relation with competitiveness. Another characteristic of the Hungarian culture in connection with competitiveness is the relative future orientation. On the other hand, Kovács found the Hungarian respondents to be more universalist than particularist, a result contradicting Falkné (2000). Overall, Kovács (2006) found Hungarian culture to be universalist, individualist, specific oriented, and neutral, while they display weak achieved status, weak future orientation and weak outward orientation.

Another Hungarian study conducted in-depth interviews with a small sample of higher managers from intercultural environments between the age of 28 and 53 (Berger, 2005). As primarily a sociological research, the cultural frameworks of Hofstede, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner or Hall were not applied. Nevertheless, the results might be interpreted within those frameworks as well. Berger (2005) found that the respondents complained about the lack of continuity, security and stability. These perceptions can be interpreted as reflecting the same ideas that lie beneath Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance dimension. The feeling of being suppressed, at the whim of 'bigger' nations is compensated by feeling very proud of intellectual achievement in the form of Nobel prize winning researchers and inventors, as well as famous film makers or writers. The small country having pride in its talented people could be a reflection of Minkov's monumentalism value orientation. As it was mentioned earlier, Minkov (2007) found correlation between the WVS item concerning national pride and monumentalist cultures. In monumentalist cultures one is allowed to be proud of oneself and say positive things about oneself without being reproached for boasting, whereas cultures on the other end of that dimensions value humility and

self-effacement and try to downplay their personal achievements, but take responsibility of their mistakes publicly (e.g. Japanese ministers of traffic resigning when a train was one minute late).

Borgulya (2006) reviews the big foreign surveys of Trompenaars, the GLOBE, Hofstede, and Thomas, in addition to a more depth treatment of the WVS and the ESS surveys. Borgulya (2000) and Szalay (2002) (as cited in Borgulya 2006 respectively) employed Thomas's (1991) cultural standards method with people from an organizational background. According to their results, Hungarians were found to treat rules flexibly. Therefore, Borgulya (2000 as cited in Csath, 2008) reports Hungary to tend more towards the particularist end of the dimension, whereas Trompenaars (1995) had conflicting data on this: one item reflected particularism, and another one universalism. According to Borgulya (2000) and Szalay (2002) (as cited in Borgulya 2006 respectively), Hungarians put emphasis on social relations to the extent of forming workplace 'cliques', mix private and professional life a lot, and have a rather direct communication style. Hungarians also project the image of liking loopholes in rules and laws, being very creative but managing time badly.

Jarjabka (2003) aimed at describing the effects of national culture on organizational culture concerning Hungary. The different organizational cultures of companies are explained by Hofstede along the dimensions of power distance and uncertainty avoidance. The first explains "who has the power to decide what" (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p. 302), whereas the latter tells a lot about "what rules or procedures will be followed to attain the desired ends" (ibid.). In the matrix of these two dimensions it is possible to identify four types of organizations: the pyramid (high PDI, strong UAI, the French), the family (high PDI, weak UAI, Taiwan), the well-oiled machine (low PDI, strong UAI, the Germans), and the village market (low PDI, weak UAI, the British). The dimensions of individualism and masculinity influence thinking about people in organizations rather than organizations themselves.

Jarjabka (2003) analyzed Hofstede's data from 88 countries from 2,000 along the dimensions of PDI, UAI and MAS. He left out the long-term orientation dimension (LTO) as there was not enough data for all the 88 countries, and ignored the IDV scores claiming it was only identified by Hofstede as a subgroup of the power distance factor (Jarjabka, 2003, p. 2). He elevated the MAS scores to the level of importance of the PDI and UAI scores whereby he created a three dimensional space in which the investigated countries may be positioned. With the help of the SPSS statistical software he identified four clusters: the bureaucratic - centralized cluster which is characterized by a very high UAI index, the Janus face cluster with the highest PDI index, the sensitive cluster that has low MAS and low PDI, and the competitive cultural cluster, which has very high MAS and low PDI. The latter contains an English speaking sub-cluster, (USA, UK, Canada, Australia), a German culture sub-cluster (Austria, Germany, Switzerland),

and a post-communist sub-cluster (the Czech Republic and Poland) including Hungary. The results of Kovács (2006) echo this finding. Then, in the second phase of his research, Jarjabka collected data in the form of a questionnaire on the currently perceived and desired values of 250 higher education students of economics who were also active jobholders at the same time. The results are summarized in the following table (Table 24).

Dimensions	Currently perceived values	Desired values
power distance	medium	less than medium
uncertainty avoidance	more than medium	less than medium
collectivist/individualist	a bit collectivist	strongly collectivist
masculinity/femininity	a bit masculine	a bit feminine

Table 24. Dimensional position of Hungarian culture based on Jarjabka (2003), weak and strong representing the two ends of the dimensions.

Jarjabka's study (2003) may have one flaw. Hofstede (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010; Sondergaard, 1994) keep emphasizing that the dimensional scores are meaningless in themselves unless they are compared to other countries' scores, that is, the study is comparative. Jarjabka asked only Hungarian respondents, his data is not a matched sample of at least two or three countries, therefore strictly speaking; it should only be treated as a reflection of subcultures of the Hungarian respondents, and not the culture of Hungary. However, Jarjabka (2003) also compared his results with other Hungarian research projects, listed in Table 25 below.

Dimension/ authors	Varga K.	Bakacsi Gy. – Takács S. (perceived)	Bakacsi Gy. – Takács S. (desired)	Heidrich B.	Primecz H.
power distance	small	large	small	large	no data
uncertainty avoidance	high	lower than medium	medium	high	no data
collectivism/ individualism	weak collectivist	rather individual	rather collectivist	rather collectivist	collectivist
masculinity/ femininity	masculine	weak masculine	weak feminine	masculine	no data

Table 25. Dimensional position of Hungary according to some Hungarian studies (Jarjabka, 2003).

Two of these research projects were included in international research databases. The Varga (1986) study results on Hungary were used by Hofstede, and the Bakacsi and Takács (1998) data was collected for the GLOBE project. Heidrich (1997) did research on the characteristics of the Hungarian organizational culture, and Primecz (2000) focused her qualitative research on multi-paradigm approach of cultural differences.

At least two of the research projects in Table 18 can be seen as matched samples forming the basis for cross cultural comparison as in the case of Kolman et al. (2003) for Hofstede's index scores for Hungary. The database of Varga (1986) and Bakacsi and Takács (1998) were used by Hofstede and the GLOBE project respectively for defining the cultural position of Hungary in

comparison to the rest of the world. It may be claimed that the samples used by Varga (1986) and Bakacsi and Takács (1998) can be matched to the sample of Jarjabka (2003) (meaning they have similar characteristics, thereby representing a similar group of the population), therefore Jarjabka's findings are just as valid without Jarjabka (2003) including other cultures in his data collection.

Jarjabka (2003) compared his and the others' data with the help of a transformation process of which he does not provide any specific information. After transforming all the data to the common platform, Jarjabka found that the currently perceived values put Hungary in the so-called 'Janus face' cultural cluster, where hierarchical relations are characteristically strong. This group contains countries from the Eastern Asian region (India, Thailand and China) and Africa (Nigeria, Kenya, South African Republic) together with a European exception, Portugal. On the other hand, analysis for the desired values put Hungary in the competitive cluster, where masculinity is dominant with lower power distance characteristics. His results suggest that the Hungarian culture is in transition and right now belongs to the Janus face cultural cluster on the perceived values, but to the competitive cluster on the desired values. This is possible if many values from different historical times and different generations are at work at the same time, as it seems to be the case for Hungary (Jarjabka, 2003). Changes originate from the collision of communist Hungarian work values and the emergence of the multinational organizations' cultural values to which Hungarians are trying to adapt, but at the same time are trying to bring them closer to their own original values. The Jarjabka (2003) results are in accordance with the GLOBE project, which said in 1998-99 that Hungary might join the competitive cluster in the near future.

Jarjabka's research is important because it draws light to the importance of distinguishing between perceived and desired values, and it supports the results of other research projects working with different data collection and analysis methods.

4.1.4 The Hungarian CVOP based on the literature review

The results of the international research projects on Hungarian cultural value orientation and the Hungarian cultural value orientation studies are summed up in Table 26 below to facilitate comprehension of the overview presented in sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 above. The results are listed under the relevant dimension in the twelve-dimensional framework established in section 4.1.1.

Relation to	Oneself and others					Context and circumstances						Time
	Hierarchy (PDI HIGH)	**Identity (IDV)**	**Gender (MAS)**	**Privacy (DIFF)**	**Status (ASCR)**	**Context (HC)**	**Rules vs. relationships (PART)**	**Emotions (AFFECT)**	**Nature & motivation (OUTER)**	**Virtue (LTO)**	**Truth/ Anxiety (UAI)**	**Time (POLY)**
Hofstede (2001)	PDI 46 **medium PDI**	IDV 80 **fairly high IDV**	MAS 88 **high MAS**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	LTO 58 **medium LTO**	UAI 82 **high UAI**	n.d.
Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1995)	n.d.	56% would opt for individual freedom to improve the quality of their life. 84% like to be allowed to work individually in an organization, and like it when credit is given individually, too 66% think responsibility for a mistake should be taken by the individual, and not the group **fairly high IDV**	instrumental/functional - social: social networks (FEM) tend to think of an organization as a group of people having a social relationship with each other and the company **low MAS**	mostly SPEC, but also DIFF 11% would help their boss paint their house 83% agree that their employees' accommodation problems are the companies' problem **medium**	low achieved status (ASCR) 81% agree with acting as it suits them even if nothing is achieved, 17% (or 68%) agree that respect depends on family background **medium**	n.d.	85% would not lie to the police to save their friend 67% would not write a false review or give no right to a friend to expect to be helped, which again show a universalist tendency 43% would tone down their doubts in favor of friend, a characteristic reflecting particularist **rather low**	neutral-affective, bit affective (55%)55% thought it is acceptable to let emotions be expressed in a work environment **medium**	outer oriented 28% believed it is worth trying to control the environment. **fairly high outer**	long-term planning (5.25 out of 7.00) **fairly high**	n.d.	n.d. but Csath (2008) says: CYCLIC, polychronic **high**
GLOBE (2004) (as cited in Jarjabka, 2010)	5.56 (12th place out of 61 **fairly high**	3.53 (2nd place out 61) in-group COLL 5.25 (37th place out of 61) more individualist (IDV) **fairly high**	gender 3.23 (3rd place out of 61) humane 3.35 (58th place out of 61) 3.43 (3rd place out of 61) assertiveness 3.23 (8th place out of 61) little bit masculine (MAS) **fairly high**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	future orientation 3.21 (58th place out of 61) Concentrating on today (STO) **low**	UAI 3.12 (60th place out of 61) more than average UAI tolerance, need for orderliness **medium**	n.d.

Sagiv & Schwartz (2000)	strongly oriented towards egalitarianism and harmony **low PDI**	a bit towards intellectual autonomy (IDV) medium	strong emphasize on harmony (FEM) **high**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	strongly towards harmony **high**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
WVS (1997)	0.45 traditional - secular/rational **medium**	0.45 traditional - secular/rational (IDV) **medium**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	minus 1.03 survival self-expression **fairly high**	n.d.
ESS (2008)	police but only about 18% are satisfied with the contact worried about pensioner incomes 56% (PDI because it is expected of the state to take care of pensioners)) **fairly high PDI**	low social and political trust (strong IDV) link between greater education and higher tolerance of immigrants (IDV) need for autonomy 80%(IDV) solidarity 65% (COLL) **fairly high IDV**	many women are employed (FEM) but there is a low birth rate (MAS) solidarity 65% (FEM), permissive (FEM) **rather low**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	obedience to laws 92% (strong UNIV) 40% of respondents agreed that the police and citizens have the same sense of right and wrong police is seen as accepting bribes in more than half the time (score of 5,5 out of 8) **fairly high PART**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	56% worried about pensioner incomes (UAI high) education leads to tolerance (UAI) 55% permissive to homo and first sex 55%(not prohibiting) (UAI low) **medium UAI**	n.d.
Triandis (Gelfand et al., 2011)	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	very loose 2.9 score(max 12.3) **fairly high PART**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Minkov (2007)	MONUM index: 115=43rd place out of 57 countries (towards FLEXUM) **rather low PDI**	n.d.	MONUM index: 115=43rd place out of 57 countries (towards FLEXUM) **rather low**	n.d.	MONUM index: 115=43rd place out of 57 countries (towards FLEXUM) **rather low**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	MONUM index: 115=43rd place out of 57 countries (towards FLEXUM) **rather low**	MONUM index: 115=43rd place out of 57 countries (towards FLEXUM) **rather low**	MONUM index: 115=43rd place out of 57 countries (towards FLEXUM) **rather low**	n.d.

Csath (STRATOS (2008)	avoid bringing employees into the decision making processes, (PDI high) demand respect (Hofstede's PDI) **high**	prefer they are not controlled within the company (IDV) **high**	focus on profit (MAS) prefer family over business (FEM) social networking important ((FEM) **low**	n.d.	n.d.	having a rather direct communication style (LC) **rather low**	try to avoid paying taxes PART **high**	n.d.	n.d.	ignore planning ahead too far (Hofstede's STO) **low**	willing to face conflicts U tolerance) like changes (low UAI), **low**	n.d.
Falkné (2000) HU vs. USA/UK Falkné, (2008)	more hierarchical than Hofstede thought (PDI higher) **fairly high**	more collectivist (COLL) **rather low**	and more masculine (MAS) social orientation prevails and relationships are more important than deadlines **medium**	more DIFF boundaries of professional and private life are not clear cut, tasks are not solely attributed to specific social roles **fairly high**	n.d.	higher context dependent (HC) **fairly high**	more particularist, **fairly high**	permit display of emotions **fairly high**	outward oriented **high**	focus on long-term orientation more (LTO) **high**	avoid uncertainty more (UAI) **fairly high**	polychronic oriented **high**
Kovács (2006)	high PDI	individualist **high**	n.d.	specific oriented (SPEC) **low**	weak achieved status orientation **low**	n.d.	Universalist **low**	Neutrality **low**	weak outward orientation **fairly high**	weak future orientation (LTO) **fairly high**	n.d.	n.d.
Berger (2005)	n.d.	very proud of intellectual achievement (Monumentalism/Schwartz intellectual autonomy) IDV **high**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	lack of continuity, security and stability (UAI) **high**	n.d.
Borgulya (2006)	n.d.	very creative (Intellectual autonomy) **high**	helpful (FEM) put emphasis on social relations to the extent of forming workplace 'cliques' **low**	mix private and professional life a lot **medium**	n.d.	rather direct communication style **low**	helpful (PART) treat rules flexibly liking loopholes in rules and laws **end**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	logical thinking (High UAI) **high**	managing time badly (mono) **low**
Jarjabka (2003) presently perceived	medium PDI	weak coll **rather low IDV**	weak masculine **fairly high MAS**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	strongly medium UAI **fairly high UAI**	n.d.

values												
Jarjabka (2003) desired values	weak medium PDI	strongly coll **rather low IDV**	weak feminine **fairly high MAS**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	weak medium UAI	n.d.
Varga K.	small **rather low PDI**	weak collectivist **rather low IDV**	Masculine **High**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	high UAI **high**	n.d.
Bakacsi Gy. & Takács S. (perceived)	Big **High**	rather individual **fairly high**	weak masculine **fairly high MAS**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	lower than medium **rather low**	n.d.
Bakacsi Gy. & Takács S. (desired)	Small **low**	rather collectivist **rather low IDV**	weak feminine **rather low MAS**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	medium	n.d.
Heidrich B.	Big **high**	rather collectivist **rather low IDV**	Masculine **High MAS**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	high	n.d.
Primecz H.	n.d.	Collectivist **Low IDV**	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.

Table 26. The Hungarian cultural value orientation results based on international and Hungarian CVOS data in the twelve dimensional framework of hierarchy, identity, gender, privacy, status, context, rules vs. relationships, emotions, nature and motivation, virtue, truth/anxiety, time. Original wording used by authors kept.
Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, POLY: polychronic time conception, MONO: monochronic time conception. DIFF: diffuse, SPEC: specific, AFFECT: affections, NEUTR: neutral, PART: particularism, UNIV: universalism, OUTER: outer motivation, INNER: inner motivation. LC: low context. HC: high context, n.d.: no data.

The table follows the structure established in Table 18 in the twelve-dimensional framework. The first row contains the names of the three issues human beings must respond to oneself and others, context and circumstances and time (Holló, 2008). The second row contains the name of the particular issues societies must make their choices about (e.g. hierarchy, gender, status, etc.). The rest of the table lists the relevant information as it was found in the articles they are cited from. Terms such as 'rather', 'more', 'bit' and similar expressions were employed by the authors and are shown in the table accordingly. The table not only reflects the tendencies of the results of each research project, it also highlights the dimensions on which no data were collected. This is signaled with n.d. (no data).

The studies cited in Jarjabka (2003) are included here even though the work of Varga was employed by Hofstede and Bakacsi and Takács (1998) worked for the GLOBE project. As it is not possible to trace how exactly Hofstede and the GLOBE project transformed the data of Varga and Bakacsi and Takács, or how the published conclusions of Varga and Bakacsi and Takács differed from the two big studies, they represent an essential part of the literature.

To arrive at a simplified version of the above results, the descriptions and scores were converted to five categories. Hofstede's 0-100 scale was divided into five sections: 0-20 = low; 21-40: medium low; 41-60: medium; 61-80: medium high; and 81-100: high. On each dimension, one pole of the dimension is at the origo: low power distance, low individualism, low masculinity, low diffuseness, low ascription, low context, low particularism, low affect, low outer directedness, low long-term orientation, low uncertainty avoidance, and low polychronicity. The decision of which pole of a dimension to stand for the 'low' or 'high' end was based on either the practice of the researcher of the particular dimension in question, or the positive/negative connotation of the dimension's poles. The verbal descriptions of the studies where the researcher did not use scores or indexes were also categorized into five sections. A description was judged as *low* if 'low' or other synonymous adjectives were used by the authors publishing the result in question. The label *rather low* was awarded when a description used 'weak', 'more towards' or 'strongly towards' the other end of the dimension (e.g. 'rather collectivist' means rather low IDV). The category of *medium* was used to render the term 'medium', or in case of conflicting data, when one item in a questionnaire or interview schedule rendered one result and the other the opposite. 'Strongly towards', 'more towards' the indicated end of the dimensions was correlated with *fairly high* ('strongly towards IDV' means fairly high IDV). Finally, *high* was awarded for the original terms 'high', 'big', or 'strong'. The dimensional characteristics of Hungary in a 5-level verbal scale based on the eight international and 10 Hungarian CVOS that have been reviewed are as follows in Table 27.

Relation to	Oneself and others					Context and circumstances						Time
	Hierarchy (PDI HIGH)	Identity (IDV)	Gender (MAS)	Privacy (DIFF)	Status (ASCR)	Context (HC)	Rules vs. relationships (PART)	Emotions (AFFECT)	Nature & motivation (OUTER)	Virtue (LTO)	Truth/ Anxiety (UAI)	Time (POLY)
Hofstede (2001)	medium	fairly high	high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	medium	high	n.d.
Trompenaars (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1998)	n.d.	fairly high	low	medium	medium	n.d.	rather low	medium	fairly high	fairly high	n.d.	high
GLOBE (2004) (In: Borgulya, 2006; Csath 2008)	fairly high	fairly high	fairly high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	low	medium	n.d.
Sagiv and Schwartz (2000)	low	medium	high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
WVS (1997)	medium	medium	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	fairly high	n.d.
ESS (2008)	fairly high	fairly high	rather low	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	fairly high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	medium	n.d.
Triandis (Gelfand et al., 2011)	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	fairly high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Minkov (2007)	rather low	n.d.	rather low	n.d.	rather low	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	rather low	rather low	rather low	n.d.
Csath (2008) (STRATOS)	high	high	rather low	n.d.	n.d.	rather low	High	n.d.	n.d.	low	low	n.d.
Falkné (2000) HU vs. US/UK Falkné, (2008)	fairly high	rather low	medium	fairly high	n.d.	fairly high	fairly high	fairly high	high	high	fairly high	high
Kovács (2006)	high	high	n.d.	low	low	n.d.	Low	low	fairly high	fairly high	n.d.	n.d.
Berger (2005)	n.d.	high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	high	n.d.
Borgulya (2006)	n.d.	high	low	medium	n.d.	low	High	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	high	low

Jarjabka (2003) presently perceived values	medium	rather low	fairly high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	fairly high	n.d.
Jarjabka (2003) desired values	rather low	fairly high	rather low	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	rather low	n.d.
Varga K.	low	rather low	high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	high	n.d.
Bakacsi Gy. & Takács S. (perceived)	high	fairly high	fairly high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	rather low	n.d.
Bakacsi Gy. & Takács S. (desired)	low	rather low	rather low	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	medium	n.d.
Heidrich B.	high	rather low	high	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	high	n.d.
Primecz H.	n.d.	low	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.

Table 27. 5-level verbal scale results on Hungarian cultural value orientation in the twelve-dimensional framework based on 8 international and 10 Hungarian research projects. Abbreviations: PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, COLL: collectivism, MAS: masculine, FEM: feminine, LTO: long-term orientation, STO: short-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, POLY: polychronic time conception, MONO: monochronic time conception. DIFF: diffuse, SPEC: specific, AFFECT: affections, NEUTR: neutral, PART: particularism, UNIV: universalism, OUTER: outer motivation, INNER: inner motivation. LC: low context. HC: high context, n.d.: no data.

Table 27 also has the format of the first row marking the three main issues, the second the dimensions, the first column with the name of the research projects and the data. An addition to the previous structures is the introduction of the 'high' end of the dimension in brackets in the second row. The rest of the table includes the transformed verbal denominators for each dimension for each research project. A 'n.d.' sign was written where no data was available for the given dimension in the given study.

After transforming results from scores and descriptions to the 5-level verbal scale, in a second round of simplification the five sections of the low-high scale were correlated with numbers from 1-5, thus achieving a numerical representation of the verbal data, shown in Table 28 below.

Relation to	Oneself and others					Context and circumstances						Time
	Hierarchy (PDI HIGH)	Identity (IDV)	Gender (MAS)	Privacy (DIFF)	Status (ASCR)	Context (HC)	Rules vs. relationships (PART)	Emotions (AFFECT)	Nature and motivation (OUTER)	Virtue (LTO)	Truth/ Anxiety (UAI)	Time (POLY)
Hofstede (2001)	3	4	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	3	5	n.d.
Trompenaars (Trompenaars 1995)	n.d.	4	1	3	3	n.d.	2	3	4	4	n.d.	5
GLOBE (2004) (In: Borgulya, 2006; Csath 2008)	4	4	4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	1	3	n.d.
Sagiv and Schwartz (2000)	1	3	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
WVS (1997)	3	3	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	4	n.d.
ESS (2008)	4	4	2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	3	n.d.
Triandis (Gelfand et al., 2011)	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Minkov (2007)	2	n.d.	2	n.d.	2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	2	2	2	n.d.
Csath (STRATOS (2008)	5	5	2	n.d.	n.d.	2	5	n.d.	n.d.	1	1	n.d.
Falkné (2000) HU vs. US/UK Falkné, (2008)	4	2	3	4	n.d.	4	4	4	5	5	4	5
Kovács (2006)	5	5	n.d.	1	1	n.d.	1	1	4	4	n.d.	n.d.
Berger (2005)	n.d.	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	5	n.d.
Borgulya (2006)	n.d.	5	1	3	n.d.	1	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	5	n.d.
Jarjabka (2003) presently perceived values	3	2	4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	4	n.d.
Jarjabka (2003) desired values	2	4	2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	2	n.d.
Varga K.	1	2	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	5	n.d.
Bakacsi Gy. – Takács S. (perceived)	5	4	4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	2	n.d.
Bakacsi Gy. – Takács S. (desired)	1	2	2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	3	n.d.
Heidrich B.	5	2	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	5	n.d.
Primecz H.	n.d.	1	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
TOTAL MEAN	**3.2**	**3.39**	**3.13**	**2.75**	**2**	**2.33**	**3.57**	**2.67**	**4**	**2.86**	**3.53**	**5**
TOTAL MODE	**5**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**2.33**	**4**	**2.67**	**4**	**4**	**5**	**5**

Table 28. Hungarian cultural value orientation in numerical scale.

Abbreviations**:** PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, MAS: masculine, DIFF: diffuse, ASCR: ascribed, HC: high context, PART: particularism, AFFECT: affections, OUTER: outer motivation, LTO: long-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, POLY: polychronic time conception, n.d.: no data.

Keeping the earlier structure, the first two rows of Table 28 include the names of the three issues human beings must face and the dimensions under which the data are entered into the numerical scale (1-5), where 1 marks 'low' and 5 denotes 'high'. Where data was missing in the literature, this was indicated again with a 'no data' (n.d.) sign. Adding up each column and dividing by the number of studies that had data for the given dimension, the mean score for the dimensional position of Hungary was calculated. In addition, the mode is shown, where available, as it reflects a better picture of the tendencies in the cultural value orientations, whereas strictly working with the mathematical mean would entail losing valuable information in tendencies.

The Hungarian cultural value orientation based on the results of international and Hungarian CVOS creates a picture of Hungary as having a little bit stronger than medium power distance (mean: 3.2), with a tendency towards high power distance preference (mode: 5); a stronger than medium (mean: 3.39) tendency for individualism with a mode of 4 that strengthens the individualism tendency. On masculinity, a weak medium tendency appears (mean: 3.13) which is weakened towards femininity by a mode of 2. Concerning privacy, the mean of 2.75 suggests a medium tendency, which is strengthened by a mode of 3. On the question of status, the results seem to put Hungary towards the achievement pole of the dimensions with a mean of 2. As there are few studies on this, no mode was possible to calculate according to the protocol. For this reason, here the tendency is represented by the mean; therefore the table includes a score of 2 for the status dimension. A similar case was the dimension of context where the mean is 2.33. As there was a lack of identical scores among the few studies that did focus on this dimension, the mean was used for mode score as well. Thus, concerning context Hungary seems to be a bit weaker than medium towards low context communication. The results furthermore show a tendency towards particularism on the rules vs. relationships dimension with a mean of 3.57 and mode of 4. On the emotion dimension, the results suggest that Hungarian culture prefers a neutral tendency for the display of emotions (mean: 2.67). As there were not enough studies having data to confirm this tendency with a mode, the mean score was employed. The data nonetheless seems to be unambiguous concerning the outer-directedness of the Hungarian culture on the nature and motivation dimension (mean: 4, mode: 4), but with virtue, the picture is mixed: whereas the mean is 2.86, the mode is 2, which suggests a tendency towards short-term orientation in the characteristics of the Hungarian culture. Finally, concerning truth/anxiety, uncertainty avoidance for the Hungarian respondents in the studies was documented to tend towards the high end of the pole with a mean of 3.53 and a mode of 5. Time was handled in only two of the projects concerning Hungary, so the unambiguous high polychronic score (mean: 5, mode: 5) might be challenged in the future. All these tendencies are to be understood in comparison to the other 80+ countries that were involved in the different studies.

Hofstede's massive database provided him with the opportunity of analyzing his data statistically, at the end of which he could identify different cultural dimensions. Each country received five scores representing their cultural characteristics compared to the other represented countries. For example, the scores on the five dimensions for Hungary may be compared to five randomly chosen countries: the USA, Sweden, Brazil, Germany and Japan (Table 29) (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010).

Dimension / Country	PDI	IDV	MAS	UAI	LTO
The USA	40	91	62	46	29
The UK	35	89	66	35	51
Sweden	31	71	5	29	33
Brazil	69	38	49	76	65
Germany	35	67	66	65	31
Japan	54	46	95	92	80
Hungary	46	80	88	82	58

Table 29. Dimension scores for five countries in Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010).

The five scores form the *dimensional model* of the country in question. The present doctoral dissertation, however, adopts the term *cultural value orientation profile* (CVOP) for the matrix of the central tendencies of a certain country/nation on a certain number of cultural dimensions describing their cultural characteristics, as it intends to provide a visual tool that can take results inferred from more qualitative methods also into consideration. The word 'model' is felt to be rigid for the purpose of integrating the various results of different studies, and it is argued that by using a more flexible expression, statistical results may be combined with qualitative results in the conceptualization process of national cultural differences. In addition, as the focus of the profiles is the *relativity* of the characteristics between and among countries, there is no need for a word with a strict scientific connotation. Finally, the term CVOP emphasizes the research aspect of this doctoral dissertation, which is to make communication breakdown among cultures and culture clashes more comprehensible to language learners, whereas the term *dimensional model* is considered too abstract to fulfill this purpose. The profile is a working tool only, not reality itself, with the purpose of making conceptualization of cultural differences easier for researchers, readers, teachers and learners alike.

To comprehend the cultural characteristics of countries easily, a CVOP is visualized in a polar coordinate system (Jarjabka, 2003). This can help to understand the cultures under discussion, as it represents them in relation to each other. The six countries mentioned above in Table 29 from Hofstede's dimensional framework are shown in a polar coordinate system along the dimensions of power distance (PDI), individualism – collectivism (IDV), masculinity-femininity (MAS), uncertainty avoidance (UAI) and long versus short-term orientation (LTO) (Figure 3).

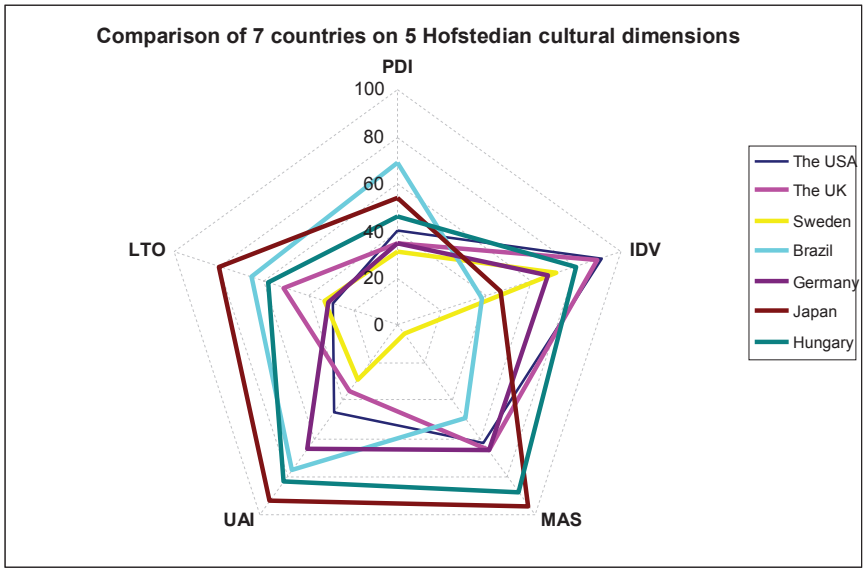

Figure 3. The cultural profile of Japan, Brazil, Sweden, the USA, Germany and Hungary based on Hofstede's data.

The diagram shows the five dimension continua starting from a common origo and spreading out into five directions. On each axis the dimensional scores are indicated, and the individual marks are connected. Thereby the similarities and differences in tendencies of the countries are highlighted well. Connecting the score values this way is acceptable as the dimensions show correlations with each other (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, see discussion above on the correlations).

The polar coordinate diagram visibly shows where the characteristics of the national cultures from Table 29 differ and where they overlap. Japan, for instance, with its high masculinity, high uncertainty avoidance and fairly high long-term orientation score is characteristically different from Sweden, for example, where femininity is valued, together with tolerance for uncertainty. However, it can also be seen how Japan is not as collectivist as one might assume, but rather it has a more individualist society than Brazil does.

The main advantage of the CVOP, as Triandis (2002a) said of the cultural syndromes, is that it helps us to focus and grasp the essence of a rather intangible phenomenon, while providing the opportunity of stepping out of the problematic issue of defining a measurable "culture" construct itself. Thus, the CVOP is a flexible visual tool, and it does not work only with one set of dimensional framework, but is readily applicable to any system, as long as the comparative feature is kept in focus.

As the results of the literature review have been brought to a common platform, it is possible to work on a visual representation of the dimensional characteristics. Based on the results found in the international and Hungarian CVOS literature, representing the averages of the means and the modes in a polar coordinate system, it is possible to create a CVOP for Hungary (Figure 4). This diagram reflects how Hungarians saw themselves when asked by international and Hungarian researchers about certain value preferences and practices.

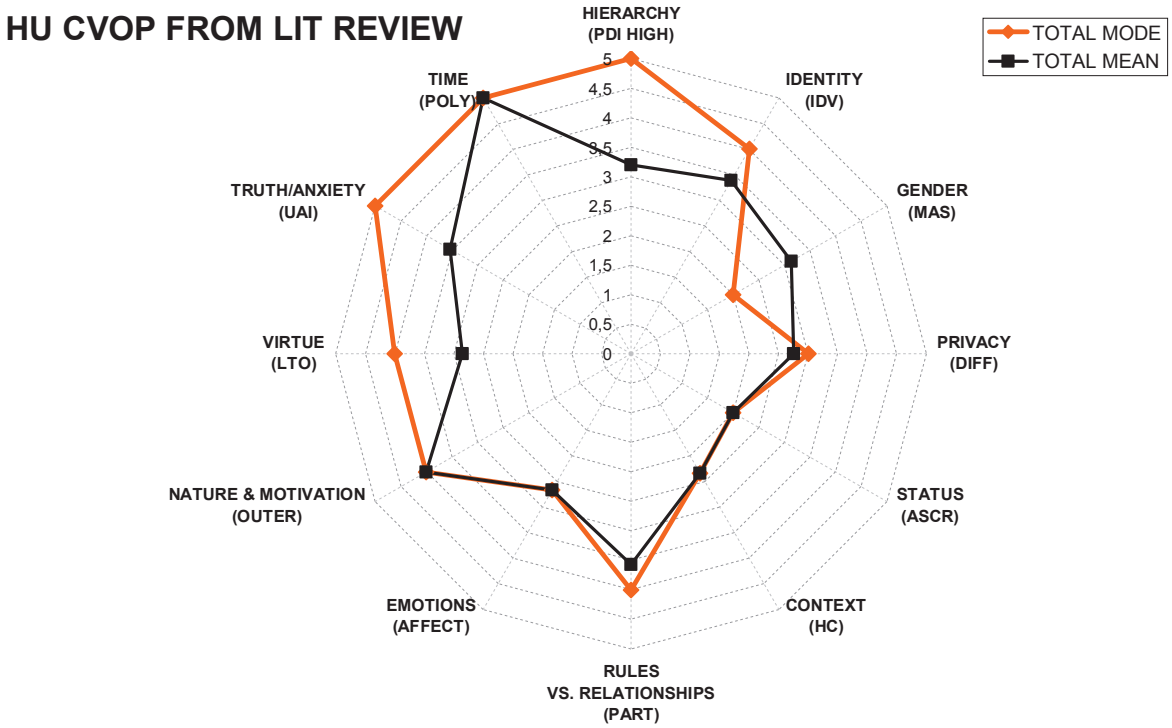

Figure 4. The Hungarian cultural value orientation profile (means and modes) deducted from the literature review.

The results of the analysis of the literature review are shown here in a polar coordinate system with 12 axes forming the 12 dimensions that were found in the literature. The total mean of the individual international and Hungarian studies on each dimension is shown with black. The resulting area bordered by the black line represents the mean Hungarian profile. The data forming the orange line reflects the total mode of the individual studies. The orange shape then is the Hungarian mode profile which shifts the mean profile more towards long-term orientation, uncertainty avoidance, and high power distance. The values on each axis are connected to

represent the fact that the dimensions are not independent from one another completely, even though the connection is not as straightforward as the continuous lines in the graphics may suggest. Despite the non-linear nature of the connection between dimensions, a continuous graphic illustration was chosen as the profile's ultimate aim is to present cultural differences and/or areas of cultural conflict to foreign language learners in a way that is easy to grasp and helps them understand the sometimes overwhelmingly complicated pattern of intercultural conflicts. To put it shortly, the goal of the CVOP is to simplify the whats and whys of the phenomenon of intercultural misunderstandings.

4.1.5 The Hungarian CVOP from the literature review: discussion of results

The revision of cultural value orientation studies proved to be very complex with highly assorted results on the countries included. In general it was found that (1) there are different frameworks in CVO theory that sometimes overlap, and (2) data collection methods are qualitative in as much as questionnaires and interview schedules are employed, but data analysis is usually quantitative and employs different types of statistical analysis. It was also detected that (3) there is an ongoing argument about whether to use matched or representative samples (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010; Schwartz, 1999; etc.), and (4) whether the level of analysis should be individual or national. Another finding was (5) whether cultural values, thus the dimensional position of countries, change over time (Jarjabka, 2003) or not (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). Furthermore, it was established that (6) data collecting instruments tend to be different for each study, which might endanger the validity of the results when data collected from diverse sources are treated as one segment (see discussions on this topic by Hofstede (2006), Javidan et al. (2006), Smith (2006). Finally, specifically about Hungary, (7) there is a lack of substantial and generalizable data collected with the same instrument at the same time of the international databases. Even though including the Hungarian research attempts in the analysis provided a fuller picture, it was still not complete as most Hungarian studies chose to do research along only some dimensions (mainly Hofstede's), but not the 12 that appear in the literature. For instance, there is not enough data on the dimensions of emotions, status and context. The analysis of the CVs and motivational letters and of the interviews of the present dissertation intended to fill this gap so that a more satisfactory picture of the Hungarian cultural value orientations may be presented. It is also true, however, that the deficiency of the literature with respect to the amount of representative and longitudinal data on Hungary cannot be replaced by a relatively small corpus of motivational letters and interviews in order to provide a representative picture and make far-reaching conclusions possible.

Thus, the plausible option to create a synthesized cultural profile for Hungary was to work with matched samples of the raw data from the different databases. As, however, some research projects used numerical data (scores, indices, percentages) while others only labels, transformation of the diverse data was required. Nevertheless, the data set collected here together with the applied research methods providing an in-depth analysis of the contexts, will be sufficient to determine whether research projects so far have identified a realistic trend of Hungarian cultural value orientations, or the course of research has to be set in new directions.

In light of the results of the analysis of the international and Hungarian research projects found in the literature, answers to the first two research questions were formulated. It may be stated that the cultural dimensions to be used when establishing the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary (research question 1) are the ones presented in the 12-dimensional framework in Table 18. According to this, the dimensions to be employed when comparing the Hungarian culture to others should be hierarchy, identity, gender, privacy, status, context, rules vs. relationships, emotions, nature and motivation, virtue, truth/anxiety and time. Concerning the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of the existing foreign and Hungarian research and literature (research question 2), it was shown that Hungary has a stronger than medium power distance, a strong medium tendency for individualism, a weak medium tendency for masculinity, a medium tendency for privacy, a weak achievement tendency on the question of status, concerning context it tends toward low context communication, it has a tendency towards particularism, a neutral tendency to the display of emotions, outer directedness, mixed long and short-term orientation, high uncertainty avoidance, and high polychronic score.

Of course, the above Hungarian CVOP is only a theoretical one, as these dimensional characteristics are meaningful only when two or more countries are compared, and strictly speaking, they should be compared based on data collected with the same instrument. As the present dissertation does not have access to a similar composite profile for the USA or the UK, it therefore has to suffice that the Hungarian composite profile is compared to other countries' profiles based on different measurement and analysis systems. This is an acceptable level of methodological flexibility, as the cultural profile presented in the dissertation serves the purpose of illustration, the purpose of grasping the essence of cultural difference per se, and it is not a cardinal question with how much degree the UK and Hungary differ on the PDI dimension, for example, only that they do differ and to which end of the pole they lean to. What is of essential importance here for the foreign language educator is that the essence, and to some extent, the logic of cultural differences may be adhered to with the help of such cultural dimensional profiles.

4.2 The Hungarian CVOP in the job application process: results of the rhetorical and cultural analysis of curricula vitae and motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language

The previous section established a dimensional framework of 12 cultural dimensions to be used as a starting point for data collection and analysis, and the cultural profile for Hungary based on data found in the literature. The second study investigated what cultural profile might emerge for Hungary from curricula vitae (CVs) and motivational letters (MLs) written in English by Hungarian language learners (research question 3); what cultural differences may be observed between Hungarian and Anglo-American cultures in the given genres (research question 3.1); which cultural dimensions might cause the difficulties Hungarian language learners experience when writing CVs and MLs in English (research question 3.2); and how learning about CV and ML writing might have influenced their output (research question 3.3). Finally, from the answers to these questions it was examined what possible training options there might be to help learners adjust to the cultural demands of CV and ML writing (research question 3.4).

As its dominant purpose was to generate hypotheses regarding the cultural characteristics of CVs and MLs, the study followed an essentially qualitative and descriptive design. As Bowen, Sapp and Sargsyan (2006) say, "case study research is often used to generalize back to theory (Yin, 1984) or inform practice in similar situations" (p. 130). This study in the doctoral research project intended to draw attention to two often-used but – from a discourse and cultural analysis point of view – neglected genres of written communication. By providing in-depth descriptions of one particular context, information for a wider decision-making perspective, such as curriculum planning, may be made available (Hays, 2004).

The texts submitted to analysis form three groups. One consists of 67 questionnaires; the others contain 56 CVs and 52 MLs.

4.2.1 Questionnaire results

The analysis of the questionnaires yielded a mixed picture. Out of the 70 participants 52 were female (74.2%) and 18 male (25.8%) with an average age of 20.6 years, and an average number of years spent learning English for 9.3 years. 67 filled in the questionnaire in an interpretable way, whereas three did not fill it out at all.

Out of the 67 participants 56 had already written a CV (83.5%), 10 had not (14.9%), and one (1.5%) did not reply. From the 56 participants 34 wrote it for the occasion of a job application (50.7%), 23 wrote it for practice during some kind of school lesson (34.3%), seven concerning their studies such applying for university or scholarships and grants (10.4 %), and 11 did not specify the occasion or circumstances (16.4%).

Of the 67 participants 36 had already written a ML (53.7%), 23 had never written one (34.3%), and eight did not reply (11.9%). Among the occasions for writing an ML, 21 listed job application (31.3 %), 14 school task (20.9%), seven (10.4%) mentioned studies such as scholarships, grants and dormitory application as their reason. Table 30 below gives an overview of the data of the first part of the questionnaire.

Age	Gender	Years of learning English	Ever written CV?	For what occasion?	Ever written ML?	For what occasion?
20.6 yrs	52 female 18 male	9.28 yrs	Yes: 56 No: 10 n.d.: 1	job: 34 task: 23 studies: 7 n.d.: 11	Yes: 36 No: 23 n.d.: 8	job: 21 task: 14 studies: 7 n.d.: 28

Table 30. Questionnaire sample statistics.
CV: curriculum vitae, ML: motivational letter, n.d.: no data.

In the second section of the questionnaire participants replied to more specific questions pertaining to their experience and knowledge of writing CVs and MLs. Of the 67 participants 49 claimed to have learnt about how to write a CV in Hungarian (73.1%), whereas 18 said they had not (30%) (Question 1). Out of the 67 participants 46 (68.7%) commented in Question 2 on what they had learnt about CV writing in Hungarian, whereas 21 (32.8%) did not specify. Altogether 37 participants referred explicitly to having learnt about the format of the CV, but the other nine comments implied previous experience in CV instruction except for one participant who learnt it from templates on the internet. Learning about the format of the CV was either expressed by referring to the 'American' type CV (12 times); by indicating the existence or the difference between the so-called 'traditional' and 'modern' type (9 cases); by mentioning having learnt about the 'format' of CV in general (12 cases); by referring to 'narrative' CV types (12 cases); by referring to a 'tabular' format (10 cases); referring to the importance of chronology (backward and regular, altogether 12 cases); and referring to the fact that full sentences are not needed (10 cases).

The second most frequently mentioned topic was content as 29 of the comments included some form of reference to what should be included in CVs in Hungarian. These include qualifications (19 times), work experience (18 times), personal details (18 times), and other information such as hobbies, interests, language knowledge, etc. (16 times). In addition, participants said a CV should be concise and straightforward (8 times), three participants brought up the issue that a photo of the applicant should be attached, and three participants said references should be enclosed, if there were any available. Two participants mentioned CV templates can be consulted and used, one participant was taught to include some family background, though without specification on what this exactly might mean, and one was reminded to pay attention to include a title. One said CVs should be signed, whereas another one was taught not to provide a

signature in a CV. Another participant's attention was drawn to the fact that spelling must be adhered to. Finally, it was possible to group from the comments that some of the participants learnt about CVs in high school (seven cases) and one in college. A summary of the diverse replies is given in Table 31 below.

Q2 What participants learnt about CV writing practices in Hungarian		
46 commented		
format (37)	American type	12
	Format characteristics	12
	narrative	12
	table	10
	backward chronology	10
	not full sentences	10
	A combination of several types	9
	chronology	2
content (29)	qualifications	19
	personal	18
	work experience	18
	other information	16
	concise	8
	photo	3
	references	3
	signature	2
	template	2
	family background	1
	title	1
	spelling	1
time of learning	high school	7
	college	1

Table 31. Issues learnt about HU CV writing practices and how many times they were mentioned (frequency).

Question 3 targeted the fact whether participants had ever learnt how to write a CV in English. From the replies it shows that 32 participants had, but 35 had not. Concerning what they learnt about how a CV in English should be written (Question 4), 37 participants did not specify, but 30 made a comment. Again as with the Hungarian CVs, the comments may be grouped according to format and content. Of the comments, 16 referred to the format characteristics of the Anglo-American CV including order of things (mentioned 8 times), using a tabular format (7 times), generally referring to learning about format and content (6 times), the emphasis to pay attention to appropriate style (4 times), though it is not specified what is considered 'appropriate' here. Two participants mentioned that a CV in English is usually accompanied by a motivational letter which should be written separately, one mentioned the importance of length – that it should not exceed two pages maximum – and that a CV should be well arranged for the reader to read it

easily (one occasion). Concerning the content of CVs in English, it was mentioned that qualifications (11 times), work experience (10 times), other information (9 times) should be included. It should be concise (4 times) and include a reference if available (4 times). In three instances participants mentioned that the date of the CV should be written according to English practices, the issue of whether to sign or not sign a CV came up twice, and according to one participant a photo should be attached only when asked specifically. Table 32 below summarizes the replies to Question 4.

Q4 What participants learnt about writing a CV in English		
30 commented		
format (16)	order	8
	table	7
	format and content	6
	style	4
	2 parts	2
	well arranged	1
	length	1
content (21)	qualifications	11
	personal	10
	work experience	10
	other information	9
	concise	4
	references	4
	date	3
	template	2
	signature	2
	photo	1

Table 32. Issues learnt about EN CV writing practices and how many times they were mentioned (frequency).

Question 5 was concerned with whether the participants had learnt writing CVs in any other foreign languages, the answers to which were positive 11 times and negative 56 times. Question 6 then asked for specification of these foreign languages. Participants had learnt about writing CVs in German (6 cases), French (2 cases), Slovakian, Romanian and Spanish (1 case each).

Question 7 aimed at collecting data on the ML writing practices of the participants in Hungarian. 41 had not learnt about how to write an ML in Hungarian at all, one did not reply, and 25 participants answered with a yes. Question 8 intended to tap into what the participants learnt about writing Hungarian MLs. Of the participants, 43 did not comment, the other 24 comments may be grouped into the three main categories of the purpose; characteristics and content of MLs.

Participants were taught to include the purpose of the ML. This was told them in four ways: a) they should include what their motivation is for applying for the given position (mentioned 11 times), eight times they were told what the purpose of an ML is, six times they were told to include the aim of their writing, and six times they were told to persuade the readers in their MLs that they are the best candidates for the advertised position. Concerning the characteristics of MLs, participants said that MLs should be short (7 times), that MLs should consist of full sentences (4 cases), it should have a personal tone (one case) and that MLs may be typed or hand-written in case it as asked for the purpose of graphological analysis. Finally, about the content of MLs, participants were taught to describe what they are best at, what their positive characteristics and good features are (14 cases). Five participants mentioned that MLs should always be adjusted to the advertised position and templates are not suitable to serve the purpose. Four participants talked about the importance of the format of the MLs such as opening and ending letters in a formal way. In four instances it was mentioned that professional experience should also be included in MLs, and three times it was mentioned that MLs should be concise, that it should contain personal details as well (3 times) and it should raise the interest of the reader (2 cases). Two participants were also taught to ask for a reply, two generally mentioned learning about the content of MLs, but did not specify what. One participant answered that interests and hobbies should be included in an ML, together with what the candidate's expectations are for the job. Table 33 below provides and overview of the diverse replies to Question 8.

Q8 What Participants learnt about ML writing in Hungarian		
purpose	motivation	11
	what it is good for	8
	aim	6
	persuasion	6
features	short	7
	full sentences	4
	personal tone	1
	typed/hand-written	1
content	strength	14
	actual position (not template)	5
	format (opening, ending)	4
	professional experience	4
	concise	3
	personal details	3
	raising interest	2
	ask for reply	2
	content	2
	interest	1
	expectation	1

Table 33. *Issues learnt about ML writing practices in Hungarian and how many times they were mentioned (frequency).*

Question 9 of the questionnaire pertained to whether participants had learnt to write an ML in English. Of the responses, 44 replied with a no, three did not comment, and 20 said yes. Concerning what they learnt an English ML should look like and contain (Question 10), participants referred to the importance of including their motivation for applying for the job (10 cases), to the format of an ML in general without specifications, and in five cases they said an English ML was just like a Hungarian one. The participants were taught to pay attention to the style of English MLs (in 3 cases), such as vocabulary and formal language. In one case it was mentioned that an ML should be attached to a CV, and in one case that it should be concise and either typed or hand-written. Concerning the content, the most important was to include the useful features of the candidate (5 cases), to refer to where they heard of the advertised position, and that they are ready for appearing at a job interview (3 cases). Finally, asking for a reply and what the main points of an ML in English are were emphasized once each. Table 34 shows the results to Question 10.

Q10 What participants have learnt about writing ML sin English		
purpose	motivation	10
	format	6
	like HU	5
characteristics	style (vocabulary, formal)	3
	more personal than CV	2
	attached to CV	1
	concise	1
	typed/handwritten	1
content	heard from	5
	ready to do interview	3
	feedback	1
	main points	1

Table 34. *Issues learnt about ML writing practices in English and how many times they were mentioned (frequency).*

Question 11 asked the participants if they had learnt to write MLs in other foreign languages. 60 participants out of the 67 replied that they had not, one did not reply and only six mentioned they had learnt about MLs in German (4 cases) and French (two cases) (Question 12). Concerning writing MLs in other languages participants mentioned learning about content, length, main terms and the style of these letters. Three participants mentioned they learnt the same as with English MLs.

Questions 13 through 15 of the questionnaire wanted to know if the participants found the tasks attached to the questionnaire difficult (Question 13) or not (Question 15) and if yes, what was difficult about them (Question 14). Of the participants, 32 found the tasks at some point difficult. In 19 cases they said it was lack of practice that made fulfilling the task not so easy.

Eight participants said the necessary vocabulary and style was difficult for them to perform. Three participants said that the fact that the task had no connection to reality made it difficult for them to perform well. Two participants claimed not to have remembered what was difficult for them, two found the ML difficult to write. Lack of knowledge about format and function caused difficulties for one participant, whereas one found it difficult to put his/her personality into words. Finally, one participant said that without a dictionary it was difficult to find the relevant vocabulary. To Question 15, 33 participants did not reply, 15 said writing the CV was easy, for six it was the ML that was easy, for three the questionnaire. Four said it was easy because it was practice and not real life situation. Two said the task was put together well, one was genuinely interested in the position and that helped him write it a lot. Two found using the words form the ad made the task easy; one said other languages, overall easiness and the fact that he used the internet as a tool helped a lot.

4.2.2 CV rhetorical analysis results

By analyzing the current corpus, the regularities of organization were interpreted 'in order to understand the rationale for the genre' (Bhatia, 1993, p. 32) of CVs. The CVs were analyzed based on the CV template established in the piloting phase of the dissertation (Furka, 2008), and presented in the literature review (section 2.4.1).

Out of the 70 participants, 56 fulfilled the task of writing a CV as part of a job application procedure. Among the 56 there were 41 females (73.2%) and 15 males (26.8%). All participants who wrote a CV included some kind of personal information about them. This meant a name in all cases (100%), 39 CVs included address (69.6%). 45 CVs (80.6%) listed a phone number, 41 (73.2%) mentioned the date of birth. Also 41 CVs (73.2%) had an email address given, but only 16 CVs (28.6%) had nationality listed explicitly, however, 18 CVs (32.4%) listed the place of birth of the writer.

The next section of the CV according to the template from section 2.4.1 consists of the details of previous work experience. Of the CVs, 41 (73.2%) included some kind of work experience, 12 did not mention any, and three did not have a work experience section in the task. Out of the 41 who included previous work experience, only 32 (57.1%) listed the date of that experience, 20 did not, and four did not provide data out of the 56 CVs. Out of the 32 CVs providing dates for work experience, 17 listed them in a backward chronological order, that is, starting form the latest job and moving backwards in time. Only five CVs listed work experience in a forward chronology. Concerning the details of work experience, 33 CVs (58.9%) listed the name of the employer as well, but only seven CVs (12.5%) included the responsibilities of the

position held. The actual name of the position or occupation was written down in 33 cases (58.9%).

The following large section in CVs is that of education. This was included in 55 cases out of the 56 CVs, with 46 CVs also listing the date of the duration of the education. Out of the 46, 36 listed it in a backward chronological order, and six in a forward chronological order. The institutions were mentioned in 50 CVs (89.2%), but the subjects studied or majors graduated were named only in 37 cases (66%).

The final big section of CVs was that of skills. Among the 56 CVs, language knowledge was mentioned 47 times (83.9%) under the section Skills. In 20 cases (35.7%) the ability to drive was included, with internet skills following in 18 cases (32.1%). Hobbies were included 10 times (17.9%), interests six times (10.7%), and free time activities seven times (12.5%). The ability to swim was mentioned five times (8.9%). The ability to type was highlighted once, just as well as the fact of passing a first aid exam. The ECDL exam – providing a basic knowledge in computer skills – was mentioned three times under the Skills section in the CVs.

Finally, the analysis found four CVs (7.1%) that were written in as narratives, that is, written in a letter style with full, connected sentences instead of a tabular format. Also, 13 CVs (23.21%) described the character of the applicant under the Skills section of CVs or added an 'Other Skills' section, seven CVs (12.5%) included the 'sex' of the writer meaning to refer to the 'gender' of the applicant, seven CVs (12.5%) included a photo (or an indication thereof), six CVs (10.7%) were signed, six (10.7%) dated, and 5 CVs included references. Out of the 70 participants 14 did not prepare a CV task, and four CVs were unfinished (7.1%). In these cases it was not possible to determine whether the writer had a different idea about what constitutes a CV, or lack of time, knowledge or willingness led to the unfinished product. Therefore, as there was no obvious pattern to be identified as to the reason for not completing the parts in question, the unfinished tasks were not left out from the corpus. Table 35 summarizes the results of the rhetorical analysis of CVs.

Number of CVs	Gender	Personal information	Name	Address	Phone	Date of birth	Email	Nationality
56 OK CVs take out partially completed CVs	41 female 15 male	100%	100%	17 no (30.35%) 39 yes (69.64%)	11 no (19.64%) 45 yes (80.56%)	13 no (25%) 41 yes (73.2%) only age: 2	15 no (28.8%) 41 yes (73.2%)	21 no (37.5%) 18 only pob (32.14%) 1 n.d. 16 yes (28.57%)

Work experience	Dates of work experience	Names of employers	Responsibilities	Occupation/ position
12 no (21.4%) 41 yes (73.2%) 3 n.d. (5.3%)	20 no (33,9%) 32 yes (57,1%) 4 n.d. (7,1%) 17 backwards 5 chronological	19 no (33.9%) 33 yes (58.9%) 4 n.d. (7.1%)	45 no (80.3%) 7 yes (12.5%) 4 n.d. (7.1%)	19 no (33.9%) 33 yes (58.9%) 4 n.d. (7.1%)

Education and training	Dates of education and training	Names of institutions	Subjects/majors	Skills (general and others)	Other comments
1 no (1.8%) 55 yes (98.2%)	9 no (16%) 46 yes (82.1%) 1 n.d. (1.9%) 36 backward 6 chronological	5 no (9.6%) 50 yes (89.2%) 1 n.d. (1.8%)	18 no (32.1%) 37 yes (66%) 1 n.d. (1.8%)	47 languages (83.92%) 20 driving (35.7%) 18 IT (32.14%) 10 hobbies (17.85%) 6 interests (10.7%) 7 free time activities (12.5%) 5 swimming (8.9%) 3 ECDL (5.35%) 1 typing 1 first aid	4 unfinished tasks (7.1%) 4 narrative CVs (7.1%) 7 "sex" instead of gender (12.5%) 13 character (23.21%) 5 references (8.9%) 14 no CV found (20%) (out of all) 6 dated (10.71%) 6 singed (10.71%) 7 photo (12.5%)

Table 35. Results summary of rhetorical analysis of 56 CVs. The table includes values referring to the occurrence of the particular element of the CV template established in Furka (2008)
Abbreviations: CV: curriculum vitae. IT: internet technology, ECDL: European Computer Driving Licence, n.d.: no data. pob: place of birth.

From a cultural point of view, the rhetorical analysis of CVs yielded that the tabular format CV has been well-established for the participants from the Hungarian higher education. Nonetheless, four instances of narrative style CVs were still found, which reflects that there has been an adaptation of a CV format that was originally not part of the traditional Hungarian culture. Other cultural differences include the presence of a photo and the gender of the applicant, which two characteristics are advised against in American résumé-writing websites (e.g. http://www.iagora.com/iwork/resumes/cv_usa.html).

4.2.3 ML move-step analysis results

The 70 participants submitted 53 tasks that contained a motivational letter. Two letters showed the signs of an unfinished task and being too short for substantial analysis, they were finally excluded. One participant wrote a cover letter to which the CV and ML were to be attached as part of her application. As this cover letter showed the characteristics of an ML according to Bhatia's definition, it was treated as such and submitted for analysis. Thus, altogether 52 letters were analyzed, with the cover letter and its motivational letter coded as ML14a and ML14b to indicate that they were written by the same participant. Out of the 51 participants writing an ML 39 were females (76.5%) and 12 were males (23.5%). The letters consist of 146.9 words and 9.1 sentences on average. The fewest sentences, only two, were employed in ML50, but that letter was probably not meant to be submitted as it is now. MLs 14a (the 'cover' letter), 17, 33, 61 and 68 have only five sentences in them, whereas ML4 has 18. Naturally, the number of words is the lowest in ML50, the 'unfinished task' with only 52 words. Among the five-sentence-letters ML14a has only 60 words in it. The letter with the next highest number of words, 66, is ML17. The highest number of words, 301, is found in ML4. The sentences were arranged into 6.4 moves on average (mean), the most letters having five moves (mode). The highest number of moves was 12 (ML2) and the lowest 3 (ML23 and ML50). The summary can be seen in Table 36 below

Sample	Average number of moves	Average number of sentences per ML	Average number of words per ML
39 female 12 male 76,5% female	6.4 (Mean) 5 (Mode) most: 12 (ML2) least: 3 (ML23, ML50)	9.1 most: 18 (ML4) least: 2 (ML50) 2nd least: 5 (MLs 68, 61, 33, 17, 14a)	146.9 most: 301 (ML4) least: 52 (ML50)

Table 36. Selective statistics of the ML corpus.

The formulaic expressions at the beginning and end of the letters, such as *Dear Sir/Madam,* or *Yours sincerely/faithfully* were not included in the above analysis as Bhatia (1993) ignores them as well (Bhatia, 1993, p. 67), though he does not provide a justification for doing so. It may be that even though they are an integral part of formal letters, to which category motivational letters belong to, they cannot be included in a rhetorical analysis as they are fixed expressions, and the writer does not have a choice about how to use them. In addition, they do not serve such functions as the moves themselves do, e.g. establishing credentials or indicating the value of candidature. They are an essential part of the format of a formal letter, but not a particular feature of the genre under examination.

The moves that form the basis of the genre of the ML as established in Bhatia (1993) (c.f. p. 67) were all found in the letters, but to varying extent. Establishing credentials (Move 1) was used in 48 of the 52 texts (92.3%). Sentences such as

> *I was informed about your advertisement in the newspaper in which you are looking for a cabin attendant.* (ML35)

or

> *...referring to the advertisement in English days 12 October* (sic), *2010 […] I firmly believe that I would be a perfect candidate...* (ML18)

were categorized into this move. Within introducing candidature (Move 2) offering candidature (Move 2a) was explicitly present in also 48 MLs (92.3%), exemplified by such sentences as

> *I would like to apply for the cabin attendant job at your company…* ML(2)

The essential detailing of candidature (Move 2b) was employed in 41 cases (78.8%) and was carried out by sentences as

> *I am 22 years old I have a bachelor degree of Tourism and Catering […] I was working in Király Restaurant as a cook and as a waiter, so I speak Hungarian English, and Spanish and I had communication trainings of all these languages.* (ML21)

Indicating the value of candidature (Move 2c) was employed in 51 cases (98.1%). This move gives the bulk of the letters. Examples are shown in

> *I think I am the convenient candidate for this job because I have lot of experience and I always take pride in my performance. In my opinion I suit all the requirements and I also can swim. I am really flexible and adaptable and I am able to work under pressure or in a team* (ML4)

or

> *About my personality, I have excellent communication skills I am flexible and able to work in team. I like new challenges and I would like to be a best in what I am doing. (ML5)*

Move 3 is the move in samples of sales promotion literature that is supposed to offer an incentive for the potential buyers that gives them the last push to decide in favor of buying the offered product. This is typically done by offering lower prices, discounts, or special packages. However, Bhatia (1993) mentions the difficulty in differentiating between indicating the value of candidature and the offering of incentive in job application letters. It is in fact hard to picture a motivational letter in which the applicant him/herself would express a desire to work for less than usual for the given position, or that he/she would offer to do overtime without compensation just in order to get a reply and be invited to an interview. Of course, negotiating financial terms for a position at the end of the selection process would be considered normal or at least acceptable and probable, but including it in a motivational letter would hardly serve the initial purpose of the genre, which is to set off a communicative process (Bhatia, 1993) and to provide a favorable self-representation. Therefore it is hardly surprising that, strictly speaking Move 3 was employed explicitly in barely two cases (3.8%). The sentences

> *I would be available for work from middle of June as my school finishes in that month* (ML69)

and

> *I have the proper skills and references for the position. I am expert at languages and I also have technical experiences at Malév Ltd. I am member of international association connecting to flying and I have won different competitions (ML36)*

were the only ones that could be clearly categorized as an offering of an incentive. There were four cases (MLs 4, 20, 22, 41) (9.6%) where either the position of a sentence in the letter or the content of the sentence in relation to the rest of the letter gave the impression that they were somewhat additional to indicating the value of candidature and may be categorized into the move

of offering incentive. A similar experience is reported in Bhatia (1993) who says that sometimes it is often quite difficult to set indicating the value of candidature and offering incentive separately from each other in MLs. In the present corpus the sentence from ML 69 cited above was considered as an incentive offered to the employer because by giving the specifics of when the applicant could start work was additional information that highlighted why he/she would be the most suitable candidate, which generally is performed by the move of indicating the value of candidature. As the content of the sentence above is not a description of the values of the candidate, such as previous experience relevant for the current position would be, nor was it possible to categorize it in any other move proposed by Bhatia, it was finally put into Move 3. However, the sentence

> *For the given reasons I would be an important part of your group as a cabin attendant.* (ML41)

was not categorized into Move 3 even though it comes after 2c and before the ending. Even though it is an addition to Move 2c and it seems to provide the extra incentive that could push the employer to react and call the applicant for an interview, it was not put into Move 3 as it was considered a linguistic summary of the previously detailed values, but showing no additional incentive content. The sentence

> *...but I think the exploitation of my abilities would be advantageous for the Wizz Air company.* (ML22)

was also not put into Move 3 but kept under indicating the value of candidature (Move 2c), because it emphasizes why the company would benefit from hiring the candidate, and reinforces the details previously put forth in Move 2c. In the other cases, for example in ML4 the extra incentive was performed by listing extra values of the candidature with 'also':

> *I think I am the convenient candidate for this job because I have lot of experience and I always take pride in my performance. In my opinion I suit all the requirements and I also can swim. I am really flexible and adaptable and I am able to work under pressure or in a team.* (ML4)

Enclosing documents (Move 4), such as CVs and references were employed only half the cases (23 cases, 44.2%), and were performed by sentences such as

> *As you can see,* (ML40)

and

I enclose a copy of my curriculum vitae. (ML37)

Soliciting response (Move 5) was performed in 36 letters (69.2%) by sentences such as

I am waiting your answer impatiently. (ML23)

or

I would be pleased to discuss my CV at an interview in the mean time please feel free to contact me if you require more information. I look forward to hearing from you. (ML38),

but using pressure techniques (Move 6) only in one case (1.9%) in ML 25 by the sentence

All in all I think my employing would be the best decision you and your company can make. (ML25)

Even in this case the categorization was mostly based on the position of the sentence in the letter, as the content itself would rather suggest a categorization into Move 2c or 3. Finally, ending politely was applied in half of the letters (27 cases, 51.9%) displayed by sentences such as

I hope that my CV and this letter caught your attention (ML1),

or

I would really appreciate if I could get the job you advertised. (ML22)

The distribution of the moves of Bhatia (1993) in the ML corpus is summarized below in Table 37.

Move 1: establishing credentials	**Move 2a:** offering candidature	**Move 2b:** essential detailing of candidature	**Move 2c:** indicating the value of candidature	**Move 3:** offering incentives	**Move 4:** enclosing documents	**Move 5:** soliciting response	**Move 6**: using pressure techniques	**Move 7:** ending politely
48/52 yes (92.3 %)	48/52 yes (92.3 %)	41/52 yes (78.8%)	52/52 yes (100%)	2/52 yes (3.8%)	23/52 yes (44.2%)	36/52 yes (69.2%)	1/52 yes (1.9%)	27/52 yes (51.9%)

Table 37. The number of letters each move was found in the motivational letters.

The move structure analysis also found that a move is very often represented by more than one utterance in a letter. However, the utterances are not always positioned next to each other; rather, they are separated by other moves and are dispersed in different sections of the letters. Utterances put adjacently and belonging to the same move were calculated as one instance of the given move. They were defined as separate when two utterances performing the same move were separated by utterances belonging to other moves (or no moves at all, but some other function of a

sentence). Thus, there were two possibilities for analysis, one looking at the letters from the point of view the position of the moves, and one looking at the instances of the moves. So the second round of analysis focused on the positioning of these instances of moves in the corpus and intended to investigate in what overall order they emerge in the corpus.

Although establishing credentials (Move 1) – that is, referring to the advertised job opening – occurred as the first move in the corpus in 30 cases, sentences performing Move 1 were also found in the letters even in ninth position. The 30 cases of Move 1 in first position means that 57.7% of the MLs used it as the opening move. Move 2a was also used in the first position in 21 cases (40.4% of all MLs), but it was filled in by Move 2b in one case (ML7).

In the second position offering candidature (Move 2a) was employed in 24 letters, (46.1% of all MLs). Move 1 was the next most frequent move in this position with 17 instances, that is, 32.7% of all the MLs. Participants also employed other moves in the second position. Move 2b and 2c with six instances (11.5% of all MLs) and five instances (9.6% of all MLs), respectively are found here.

The third position has several moves distributed among the letters. The highest occurrence is for Move 2c, indicating the value of candidature, with 20 instances. This means that 38.5% of all MLs had Move 2c in the third position. Move 2b, the essential detailing of candidature has 15 instances in this position that accounts for its use in 28.8% of the MLs in this position. Move 4 can be found here as well with 7 instances (13.5% out of all MLs). In four letters (7.7%) both offering candidature (Move 2a) and establishing credentials (Move 1) are displayed only in third position instead of first or second. Move 5 (soliciting response) and Move 7 (ending politely) are positioned in one letter each in third position (ML 23 and 50). This is understandable, as these letters finish here, and display no more moves in them.

In fourth position again indicating the value of candidature comes with 20 instances just like in third position. Move 2b has one more occurrence here (16) than it had in third position, thus 30.8% of the MLs used Move 2b in this position. Move 4 has five instances in this position, accounting for 9.6% of MLs employing this move in fourth position. Four letters (7.7%) finish here with Move 7. Move 5 is represented in two cases (3.8% of the letters). Surprisingly, Move 1 is found here in two instances (3.8% of MLs), and also Move 2a is detected in one case (ML19). Finally, this slot was left empty in two cases which is indicated by the label ‘none’. This is due to the fact that there were two letters with only three moves in them which show up as ‘nonexistent’ in the rest of the analysis from the point of view of the rest of the move positions. The later the position, the more ‘no data’ slot was required during analysis.

In fifth position Move 2c, indicating the value of candidature is found in 16 cases (30.8% of MLs) Moves 2b and 7 are both present with 10 instances (19.2%). Move 5 is detectable in five

cases (9.6% of MLs). Move 1 is present in two cases (3.8% of MLs). Move 2a and 4 are represented with one instance each, which means that they are found in 1.9% of all MLs, Move 6 is also found here in one instance. Finally, six letters had no move in the fifth position.

In sixth position Move 5 was the most frequent choice of the participants with 12 instances (23.1% of all MLs), and Move 2c follows with 11 instances (21.6% of all MLs,). Move 2b appears with five instances in sixth position (9.6% of MLs and 8.7% of occurrences), but also the only two instances of Move 3, offering incentive, are positioned in this slot. Move 4 and 7 are represented with two instances each. 18 MLs had a structure where moves did not occur after the fifth position, so there are 18 'no data' letters in sixth position.

For the rest of the letters, move 5 was used 6 times in the 7th position (11.5% of all MLs). Move 4 is present here in 4 cases (7.7% of MLs). In other letters we find Move 2b and 2c and Move 7 three times, and Move 2a and 1 in one-one cases. Of the letters, 31, almost 60% of all MLs did not have a move in the seventh position as they were finished at this length.

In the eighth position Move 7 was the most frequent with an overall presence of 11.5%. Move 5, soliciting response was used in 4 letters in this position which accounts for an occurrence of 7.7% in all MLs. Move 4 was used twice in this position (3.8% of all MLs). Move 2c was used in such a late section of the letters in one instance (1.9% of all MLs), and 39 letters did not have a move in the eighth position as they were shorter.

In the 9th position a relatively wide variety of moves were used, but only in a few cases, as the number of letters that were this long constantly reduces. Move 5 was employed 3 times (5.8% of all MLs), Move 4 twice (3.8% of all MLs and 8.4% of its occurrences), and Moves 1, 2b and 7 once (1.9% of all MLs,).

Two moves, Move 5 and 2c were used in the 10th position twice (3.8% of all MLs) and once (1.9% of all MLs), respectively. Move 5 was found even in 11th position (1.9% of all MLs), and Move 4 in twelfth (1.9% of all MLs). The move structure of the MLs from the point of view of the positioning of each utterance is summarized in Table 38 below.

Position of move in ML	Move used in given position	number of occurrences of given move in given position in the 52 MLs	ratio to 52 MLs	ratio to all instances of particular move
1st	Move 1	30	57.7%	52.6%
	Move 2a	21	40.4%	41.4%
	Move 2b	1	1.9%	1.7%
2nd	Move 2a	24	46.1%	47%
	Move 1	17	32.7%	29.8%
	Move 2b	6	11.5%	10.5%

	Move 2c	5	9.6%	6.4%
3rd	Move 2c	21	40.38%	26.9%
	Move 2b	15	28.8%	26.3%
	Move 4	7	13.5%	29.1%
	Move 2a	3	5.7%	5.8%
	Move 1	4	7.7%	7.%
	Move 5	1	1.9%	2.8%
	Move 7	1	1.9%	3.7%
4th	Move 2c	20	38.5%	25.6%
	Move 2b	16	30.8%	28%
	Move 4	5	9.6%	20.8%
	Move 7	4	7.7%	14.8%
	Move 1	2	3.8%	3.5%
	Move 5	2	3.8%	5.5%
	none	1	1.9%	1.9%
	Move 2a	2	3.8%	n.d.
5th	Move 2c	16	30.8%	20.5%
	Move 2b	10	19.2%	17.5%
	Move 7	10	19.2%	37%
	Move 5	5	9.6%	13.9%
	Move 1	2	3.8%	3.5%
	Move 2a	1	1.9%	1.9%
	Move 4	1	1.9%	4.2%
	Move 6	1	1.9%	100%
	None	6	11.5%	n.d.
6th	Move 5	12	23.1%	33.3%
	Move 2c	11	21.1%	14.1%
	Move 2b	5	9.6%	8.7%
	Move 3	2	3.8%	100%
	Move 4	2	3.8%	8.4%
	Move 7	2	3.8%	7.4%
	None	18	34.6%	n.d.
7th	Move 5	6	11.5%	16.6%
	Move 4	4	7.7%	16.6%
	Move 2b	3	5.8%	5.3%
	Move 2c	3	5.8%	3.8%
	Move 7	2	3.8%	7.4%
	Move 1	1	1.9%	1.7%
	Move 2a	1	1.9%	1.9%
	None	31	59.6%	n.d.
8th	Move 7	6	11.5%	22.2%
	Move 5	4	7.7%	11.1%
	Move 4	2	3.8%	8.4%
	Move 2c	1	1.9%	1.3%
	None	39	75%	n.d.
9th	Move 5	3	5.8%	8.3%
	Move 4	2	3.8%	8.4%
	Move 1	1	1.9%	1.7%
	Move 2b	1	1.9%	1.7%
	Move 7	2	3.8%	7.4%

	None	44	84.6%	n.d.
10th	Move 5	2	3.8%	5.5%
	Move 2c	1	1.9%	1.3%
	None	49	94.2%	n.d.
11th	Move 5	1	1.9%	2.8%
12th	Move 4	1	1.9%	4.2%

Table 38. Positioning of the moves of 52 MLs based on Bhatia (1993).
Abbreviations*:* n.d.: no data. ML: motivational letter.

The move structure may be summarized from the point of view of the move structure of Bhatia (1993), as shown in Table 39 below:

Position	**Move 1**	**Move 2a**	**Move 2b**	**Move 2c**	**Move 3**	**Move 4**	**Move 5**	**Move 6**	**Move 7**
1st	**30**	21	1						
2nd	17	**24**	6	5					
3rd	4	3	15	**21**		**7**	1		1
4th	2	1	**16**	20		5	2		4
5th	2	1	10	16		1	5	**1**	**10**
6th			5	11	**2**	2	**12**		2
7th	1	1	3	3		4	6		3
8th				1		2	4		6
9th	1		1			2	3		1
10th				1			2		
11th							1		
12th						1			
Total	**57**	**51**	**57**	**78**	**2**	**24**	**36**	**1**	**27**

Table 39. Number of instances of each move in each position with the total times of occurrences (not letters!) in the corpus.

The analysis showed that out of the 57 instances of Move 1, 30 instances (52.6%) were positioned to the 1st place, where they generally belong (Bhatia, 1993). Move 2a was dominant in 2nd position with 24 instances out of 51 cases (47%), a trend generally following Bhatia's experience (1993, p. 65). Move 2b – which should come in third position – was mostly used in 4th position instead with 16 instances out of 57 (28%), but also in 3rd position it was found in 15 cases (26.3%). Move 2c is present in 21 instances (26.9%) in third position, and 20 instances (25.6%) in 4th. Move 3 is barely employed, but even then in 6th position instead of the 5th. Move 4, which should come in 6th position, was mostly used in 3rd position (7 times, 29.1%). The tendency to mix the order of moves is also acknowledged by Bhatia (1993), as it was already discussed in section 2.4.2, and is also shown in his example:

> *With reference to your advertisement for the position of fashion copywriter as advertised in the Straits Times of 1 December, 1988, I would like to enclose my C.V. for your kind consideration. (Bhatia, 1993, p. 65)*

Here Move 4 (enclosing documents) appears in 3rd position as well after Move 1 and 2a. Move 5 was mostly used in 6th position instead of the 7th (33.3%) where it originally appears in Bhatia's sample, Move 6 was only used once in 5th position, and Move 7 was used in 5th position 10 times (37%).

4.2.4 Cultural analysis of the MLs

4.2.4.1 Nativization of strategies

Even though the positioning of the moves in the MLs did not reflect a particular pattern that could be linked to cultural value orientations, the realization of the main purpose of MLs, the presentation of the 'self', did show substantial cultural differences. To find differences defined by underlying cultural values in the present corpus of MLs, it was decided to look at the strategies used for self-representation in the moves, as Bhatia (1993) already reported that in south-east Asia the main strategy used for self-representation in the MLs was self-glorification instead of self-appraisal, i.e. the normal trend in MLs written by native speakers of English. Therefore, the texts were investigated for cases of self-appraisal, self-glorification, and adversary and target glorification.

Self-appraisal which should be the general strategy in the job application was represented in only one case in the whole corpus, and was realized by the sentence

> *I have won competitions…* (ML36)

with the detailing of the facts of these competitions coming in the rest of sentence. Of the letters, 48 (88.5%), however, used the strategy of self-glorification. Sentences like

> *I have the proper skills and references for the position. I am expert at languages and I also have technical experiences* (ML36)

or

> *I am sure that I am not a disappointment to your company. I think I am a very sociable person and capable of adapting to different situations.* (ML34)

were categorized into the strategy of self-glorification based on Bhatia's definition for the term (1993) (see section 2.4.3 above). Other examples included:

> *I presume I have all the features that are required for this job, like the good communication skills, politeness or the knowledge of different languages which is essential at these circumstances. Fortunately I had the opportunity to travel by plane several times before, so I am totally aware, how stewardess should behave and treat with the costumers up in the air and during the whole flight. I think the exploitation of my abilities would be advantageous for the Wizz air company.* (ML22)

or

…because of my friendly and communicative personality. I also have face-to-face customer service and sales skills as have some experience in that area. My problem-solving skills are excellent and I am very good team worker as I was the member of the student authority. I have perfect swimming ability, even won in some competition during my high school studies (ML18)

Adversary glorification was found in fourteen cases (26.9%) with typical sentences such as

I always wanted to work for a big and successful company (ML20)

or

I would like to work in a happy and funny team, as it was mentioned (ML4).

Self-degradation was found in two occasions (5.75%) exemplified by the sentences

I hope you will not be disappointed in me (ML21),

and

I have to communicate you that I am not the best swimmer but I can do it. (ML24).

It was interesting to find 11 letters (21.1%) with a combination of strategies. They combined self-glorification with adversary or target glorification. The latter is different from adversary glorification in that it puts the applied position on a high pedestal, thereby justifying the reason of the candidate to apply. For example in ML58 the sentence

I can confidently say that my professional skills and experience make me suitable for the position. (ML58)

realized self-glorification, whereas the sentence

I would like to work your company (sic) *because I think that this work is the best to me and this job will be my dreamwork (*ML58)

employed target glorification. In another letter (ML56), adversary glorification (AG) is mingled with a whole section of self-glorification (SG):

"A couple of months ago I realized that being flight attendant would be a real challenge for me. I think my good points can come to the front, like humanity, flexibility and openness to the other cultures. I would like to welcome the chance to work for your high-standard company. (AG) *I think myself, I'm good teamplayers and I can solve every problems. So I believe there would be a good fit between my skills and interests and your needs."* (ML56)

The results for the strategies employed in the present corpus of MLs are summarized below (Table 40).

Type of strategy	Number of instances in all MLs	Ratio in all MLs
self-glorification	48	88.5%
adversary glorification	14	26.9%
combo	11	21.1%
self-degradation	2	3.84%
self-appraisal	1	1.96%
none	1	1.92%

Table 40. Number and ratio of occurrences of the different types of strategies in the corpus.

All in all, the strategies employed in the MLs written by the Hungarian learners of English showed that the 'normal' strategy of self-appraisal tends to be missing from this corpus and self-glorification is used instead, just as in the case of the south-east Asian corpus of Bhatia (1993). This suggests a similar cultural value orientation as the south-east Asian sample represented. According to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) south-east Asian countries tend to lean towards high power distance, with Taiwan scoring the lowest at 58 (out of 100) (p. 58). They also lean towards collectivism, all of them scoring below 26 out of 100 (p. 97). On masculinity-femininity they range from 34 to 64 (p. 142) which is a weak femininity tendency, and on the uncertainty avoidance dimension they score below 70 except for South Korea (pp. 193-194). Finally, they are dispersed on the scale for long-term orientation. This description suggests that the Hungarians who participated in this study and used self-glorification in the MLs for self-representation have a cultural value orientation of high power distance, strong collectivism, medium masculinity, weak uncertainty avoidance and indecisive orientation on whether to focus on the future or the present.

4.2.4.2 Strategies of justification

While analyzing the ML corpus for moves, it was noticed that the writers kept using sentences with *'because'*, as in

I would like to apply for a job because I am interested in aviation business (ML10)

or

I think I am a perfect candidate for this job because I met every requirements (ML7).

In addition, the structure *'so'*, as in

I have excellent communication skills, so I can easily work in a team (ML37)

or

Before I finished my graduation I took the ECDL exam and so I can use the computer very well (ML58)

was employed on many occasions. After substantial re-analysis of the texts for these structures, two categories were established. One was labeled 'justification of application' (examples ML10 and ML7 above), the other 'justification of value' (examples ML37 and ML58). The first type of sentences used linguistic elements to justify why the applicants were applying for the advertised position. Altogether 27 cases of justification of application were found (51.92%) in the MLs. The other group wanted to explicitly highlight why they would be a valuable choice for candidacy, and therefore in 37 cases the letters used justification of value (71.15%). Justification of application was mostly found in Move 2a, (offering candidature), whereas justification of value was employed within Move 2c, (indicating the value of candidature). There are 15 cases (28.84%) where both types of justification are present in the ML, and four letters did not display them at all. The results of analysis for the existence of the strategy of justification are summarized below in Table 41.

Strategy	**Number of cases**	**Ratio to all MLs**
Justification of application	27	51.92%
Justification of value	37	71.15%
Both	15	28.84%
None	4	7.7%

Table 41. Number of cases and ratio of the strategy of justification used for Moves 2a and c.

The analysis also found that sometimes the strategies of justification were achieved by the same sentences realizing target/adversary glorification and/or self-glorification. The sentence

I always wanted to work for a big and successful company, so I think you won't disappointed (sic) *in me* (ML20),

is one example where target glorification is used to rationalize the motivation for the application, and self-glorification justifies the value of the candidacy. The phrase 'big and successful company' lacks factual base in the context, thereby becoming a mere subjective attitude of the applicant towards the employer. Yet by glorifying the employer, the applicant implies the reason for the application: it would be good to be part of a big and successful company, and therefore the applicant has decided to submit an application. In addition, the applicant claims to be the best candidate by way of glorifying him/herself with 'I think you won't disappoint in me'. Another typical type of sentence to justify the reasons for application is like the one in ML60

The main reason, why I want to work with your company, because I think I could get a lot of experience (ML60),

where the reasoning is that the candidate is applying because the position would benefit him/her. In some cases, the strategies of justification show a tendency to surface in sentences performing the strategies for self-representation as well. Such a combination of strategies is reflected in the sentences

> *I would like to get a new position with more responsibility. I would like to prove myself at a bigger company* (ML67)

which exemplify target glorification, the new position with more responsibility being the target, the desired status, where the applicant could prove him/herself, which is his/her motivation for application. Furthermore, the sentence

> *I would like to be a part of a friendly, funloving team, have a busy and fun lifestyle.* (ML3)

is a good example of how glorifying the target – the desired job in a friendly and fun loving team with a busy lifestyle – illustrates the motivation behind the application at the same time.

The above justification strategies were noteworthy in the present corpus as the phenomenon is not referred to by Bhatia (1993). Using explicit linguistic elements for conveying the underlying message in the instances of justification of application and value of candidacy as in the example from ML60

> *The main reason why I want to work…* (ML60).

indicates a low context cultural attitude. In addition, it also reflects an individualistic attitude, in as much as justification is claimed to be used in such cultures for self-defending face work (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998). A more thorough investigation could shed more light on whether Hungarians do tend to use justification as a means of retroactive self-defending strategy which would indicate an individualistic cultural value orientation, or whether the strategies of self-representation really go hand in hand with the strategies of justification. Nevertheless, the present corpus suggests precisely that.

4.2.4.3 Cultural dimensions in the MLs

Apart from finding cultural dimensions reflected in the way self-representation and justification strategies are used, the dimensions of power distance, collectivism-individualism, high and low context are present in other forms in the corpus as well. Utterances reflecting power distance issues were detected in 10 letters (19%). Sentences such as

I am ready to do overtime (ML8)

or

I want to learn as much as I can (ML35)

and

if you could give me the opportunity…. (ML67)

were categorized as belonging to the issue of hierarchy due to reflection of power distance characteristics of the participants' culture in them, because they refer to the willingness to submit to a higher power. Another example,

I would like to work in your team because I want to improve my English language (ML53),

was put into PDI as it reflects a request towards the employer, the empowered participant in the communication process and the social situation, to make the applicant's professional development possible. This is a characteristic of societies with unequal power distance features (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). The sentence

The main reason, why I want to work with your company, because I think I could get a lot of experience (ML60)

is also an example for pressuring the employer to behave as his power status requires it, i.e. to give the applicant a chance for a better life and opportunities. The same is further supported by the sentence

It is important to me for professional development and the acquisition of professional knowledge (ML70)

where the emphasis is again on how the employer would do good to the applicant if he/she gave the job to him/her. This is again characteristic of high power distance societies. A further characteristic of high PDI cultures seem to be reflected in the sentence where the applicant gives a 'reference' by saying that his/her previous boss was satisfied with the applicant:

My previous boss was very satisfied with me. (ML7)

To accept someone's word as proof of one's credibility and dependability is again a characteristic feature of societies with high power distance where members with more power, and therefore the truth of their declarations are not questioned, but taken for granted (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010).

Further addition to the cultural values present in the letters was the fact that many MLs provided a general description of the skills of the candidate, and showed lack of explicit expression of the skills relevant for the job, or, in other cases, irrelevant details were included. For instance, ML 3 displayed sentences that referred to the value of the candidate in a general way:

I am 20 years old, I did my final exams in… and I can swim (ML3).

In addition, ML 4 – apart from being one of the narrative MLs – included even early education and parental background. This behavior exemplifies an instance of what Minkov (2007) calls monumentalism. Such cultures think the self is unchangeable and the social background has a major influence on who the person is, which should always be acknowledged. The fact that the self is molded by the past is usually characteristic of high context cultures (Hall, 1976; Minkov, 2007) who view people as interrelated with the world, i.e. the world being the context without which they feel they would not exist, or would at least be different.

Finally, for another trace of high context cultural value orientation ML 5 shows the tendency generally found in the letters of starting with schooling, then work experience. However, the list of previous work experience is not formulated in a way that is relevant for the vacancy in question. In addition, it does not refer to any of the data in the CV and the reader has to put the picture together. It is suggested here that this is a case for reader-responsible attitude (Hinds, 1987), which is again characteristic of high context cultures, where reading between the lines is expected and the writer does not have to spell out everything (Hall, 1976), as it is believed that the reader has to finish the process of understanding and communication.

All in all, the sentences of the letters provided direct evidence for the dimensions of power distance, individualism-collectivism, high context and low context, as well as of reader-responsibility as shown in Table 42 below.

Dimension	**Number of letters**	**MLs containing given dimension**
PDI	10	ML 1, 7, 8, 35, 50, 53, 60, 66, 67, 70
COLL	10	ML1, 9, 10, 16, 21, 24, 25, 34, 35, 50 + favor seeking situation generally
HC	3	MLs 3, 4, 5, general tendency for unspecific formation of value of candidature
IDV	1	ML1
LC	1	ML14
reader-based	1	ML5

Table 42. Dimensions detected in the MLs.

Certain characteristic structures of the letters that could be analyzed in line with the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), and the face management theory of Ting-

Toomey and Kurogi (1998) indirectly reflect the cultural dimensions. Brown and Levinson's politeness theory claims that in communicative interactions the speaker and the hearer might have different interests and goals, one that conflict with the other party's interests. In order to show the willingness to maintain communication despite these differing aims, participants of a conversation use certain strategies to save their and the other's 'face' which is a term originally proposed by Canadian sociologist Goffman as

> *the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes."* (Goffman, 1955, p. 213)

Positive and negative politeness strategies together with direct and off-record strategies are used to maintain communication despite the face threatening acts (FTAs) of the interactants.

Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) further developed politeness theory into face negotiation theory which says that interactants of communicative situations tend to use culturally coded techniques and strategies to "support and challenge the other's social dignity" (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998, p. 187) and maintain face during communication and conflict. Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) highlights that face is the most crucial problem in situations where one has to expose oneself, such as requests (p. 2), for example in the case of applying for a job. Face negotiation theory works along assumptions based on the cultural dimensions of individualism-collectivism and power distance, and differentiates between preventive facework and restorative face work depending on its temporality (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998). Depending on the locus of facework, however, it can be categorized as self-defending or other-oriented. Self-defending strategies such as justifications and situational excuses belong to restorative facework and reflect a priority of the I-identity, therefore are more employed by individualist cultures. Preventive facework strategies would be more used by collectivists to prevent face loss in the future by, for example, self-effacement. Individualist cultures tend to use more self-enhancement strategies because of the importance of their I-identity. In addition, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) points out that

> *in competitive situations (e.g. job interviews) that call for face recognition, individualists will use self-enhancement face strategies to distinguish the "self" from others more so than collectivist. Comparatively, collectivists will use more self-effacement strategies (e.g. ''I'm just lucky to have prepared for the right questions'' or ''I don't know that much about this computer program, but I can learn'') than individualists. In responding to face-giving comments (e.g. compliments) from others, collectivists will also tend to use more self-effacing and in-group-enhancement facework (e.g. 'The entire group really worked hard and pulled together') to defuse self-face enhancing comments.* (p. 192)

Based on the above two theories and the results of the self-representation analysis items were also categorized into politeness or face negotiation strategies. For example, the sentences

I am very interested in the job (ML37)

and

I like to travel all around the world. In this case I'm very keen on flying and I like terminals. (ML39)

in the present corpus were identified as displaying off-record politeness strategies because they request application indirectly, instead of saying *"I wish to make an application"*, *"I would like to apply" or "Please hire me"*. As such, they display self-effacing preventive facework strategy to ward off potential face loss, which is characteristic of collectivist cultures (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998). Furthermore, the sentence

I hope you will not be disappointed in me. (ML21)

exemplifies not only a negative FTA (Brown and Levinson, 1987), but it is also an act of preventive self-effacement, which is again a feature of collectivist cultures (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998). As it was argued by Hofstede (2005) and Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) mentions it as well, collectivists are group-oriented people for whom putting the self out and in front of the interest of the group is a cultural no-no. The corpus also displays 'other-face orientation' facework strategy which is reflected in the adversary glorification strategies in the letters. Other-face orientation is the result of the sensitivity to the 'other-' instead of the 'I-identity' (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi 1998).

Finally, all the letters gave the impression of "begging" which seems to mean that the participants considered the situation to be one of favor seeking. Favor seeking is a situation generally employing negative politeness strategies and has three stages (a theory by Held (1989), as cited in McCarthy and Carter, 1994). In the first stage the request is introduced by softened and indirect linguistic elements, such as past continuous *("I was wondering"*) or informal tags (*"What d'you reckon?"*). In the second stage the request is made together with giving the reasons or the constraints (e.g. I've tried everywhere but I can't get one') or the other's face (e.g. *"You're the only person I can turn to"*), etc. In the third part the requester provides promises and anticipatory thanks, and even compliments (e.g. *"I knew you would say yes. You're an angel."*). The present corpus includes 39 letters (77%) that carry the characteristics of favor seeking as presented by

Held (1989 as cited in McCarthy and Carter, 1994). In these favor seeking letters, the representation of the self starts from a lower social status than that of the reader. For example, the sentences

> *I would like to work your company because I think that this work is the best to me and this job will be my dreamwork.* (ML58)

and

> *It has always been my intention to work in a customer-focused environment, and I have great interest in working for your company, since my experiences with travelling Wizz Air have never been short of completely satisfying.* (ML50)

use off-record politeness in favor seeking including the applicants' reasons for asking the favor and softening the imposition by stroking the other's face by target glorification. As such, these represent a tendency for high PDI, and COLL. In addition, the sentence

> *I would like to join you, if it is possible* (ML4)

also shows a request with an attempt at minimizing the imposition by a negative politeness strategy, and reflects an overall other-face orientation, a characteristic of COLL cultures. The above results may be summarized in Table 43 below as follows:

Theory	**Strategy**	**Dimension**	**Number of letters**	**MLs containing given dimension**
Ting-Toomey & Kurogi (1998)	self-effacement	COLL	9 (17.6%)	ML3,9,11,21,24,25,34,35,38
	self-enhancement	IDV	2 (3.9%)	ML1,8
	other face orientation	COLL	14 (27.45%)	ML3,2,6,15,16,17,22,26,33,36,38,41,50,58
Brown & Levinson (1987)	negative politeness	HC, high PDI	24 (46%)	ML1,2,4,6,7, 8, 9,10,11,13,14, 16,18,22,4,37,41,53,54, 58,66,67,69,70
	off the record	HC, PDI	9 (17.6%)	ML2,12,13,26,39,50,59,60,61
	positive politeness	LC, low PDI	2 (3.9%)	ML1,24
Held (as cited in Carter & McCarthy 1994)	favor seeking	PDI, COLL	39 (76.5%)	ML1,11,16,22,23,25,33,36,38,39,50,59,61,63, with the explicit phrase 'I would like to': 2,3,4,6,7,8,10,12,13,14,15,17,18,19,20,21,26,40,41, 42,53,54,58,60,70
	none	-	3 (5.9%)	ML5,56,63

Table 43. Politeness and face negotiation strategies in the MLs.

Altogether, the present corpus included 24 letters with negative politeness strategies (in 46% of the letters). Off-record strategies were present in 9 letters (18%); positive politeness was found in only two letters (4%). From facework strategies, self-effacement in nine letters was present (18%), self-enhancement (which is the equivalent of self-appraisal) was found in two letters (4%), and other-face orientation was displayed by 14 letters (27%). Finally, 39 of the letters

were identified as displaying the characteristics of a favor-seeking situation (77%). The presence of the strategies of face negotiation and politeness theory (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi 1998 and Brown and Levinson, 1987 respectively) is claimed to be linked to an overall tendency for high PDI, strong COLL, some IDV, and HC dependence in the context of applying for a job. These results are in line with the dimensional analysis results summarized in Table 42 on p. 176 above.

4.2.5 The Hungarian CVOP in the job application process: CV and ML results

The cultural analysis of the CV and ML corpus yielded results that may be interpreted within the twelve-dimensional framework established in the Review of the literature (section 4.1.1).

The CV analysis brought to light the fact that most foreign language learners by their higher education studies have heard about the tabular format or 'American' type CV which is currently a requirement in the Hungarian job market (Furka, 2008). In addition, their skills at writing one in English seemed to be fairly adequate as well. Although there were only four CVs in the narrative style which is a much smaller ratio than in the pilot study (Furka, 2008), the fact that were narrative CVs among the corpus at all proves that the L1 way of thinking and C1 background is a factor that language learners and teachers have to take into consideration when focusing on text-production. Other characteristic features of the CVs were that gender was often included, even though in the name of political correctness an increasing number of international corporations do not ask for this information. The same is true of photos which were included seven times (12.5%), even though the job advertisement did not specify whether it should be attached or not. Another characteristic feature was the fact that 13 letters (23.5%) included character description under the section 'Skills'. It seems plausible that this was done as the participants did not feel their work experience and their educational background can grasp who they are in themselves. To put it differently, by adding adjectives describing their personal characteristics they exhibit the lack of confidence that their achievements will be convincing enough for the employers to invite them for an interview. What is more, they display preference for a self-representation that includes their whole self, not only the professional or 'achievement' side.

The dominance of the tabular type CV suggests that a cultural shift has taken place compared to the traditional Hungarian pattern (Furka, 2008). However, the existence of the four narrative type CVs in the corpus, in addition to the unspecific style of the sentences employed in the texts suggest that the shift of paradigm has not been completed. It appears that there is an underlying traditional Hungarian self representation that is still traceable in the 'new', tabular format. As it was reported earlier (Furka, 2008), there is a tendency for Hungarians to represent

themselves in a holistic way, and presenting their self relevant for the advertised position seem to cause difficulties for them. It is also clear from the CV corpus that the Hungarian culture of the job application process is thought of as one where it is the employer's responsibility to read between the lines of a CV, and decide whether the applicant is a possible future worker. The 'British' CV writing practices, on the other hand, emphasize the need to adjust a CV to the position in question, thereby making it the writer's responsibility to present him/herself in a light relevant for the position. Reader-responsible writing styles (Hinds, 1987) consider text-production not as the sole responsibility of the writer. In writer-responsible cultures the author is required to express his/her thoughts in a way that the reader cannot understand anything else but the writer's intentions. This requires an active part in the text-production process only on the side of the writer. However, reader-responsible cultures require also the reader to actively participate in constructing meaning, and as Kosztolányi, a Hungarian writer and journalist is reported to have said, a piece of writing is only finished when the reader has read it and made his/her own inferences. In other words, based on the present corpus, Hungarian culture seems to be reader-responsible, whereas the English speaking culture seems to be writer-responsible.

Concerning the motivational letters, the corpus provides a wealth of details on rhetorical and cultural characteristics. As to the function of the motivational letter, that is, selling oneself (Seelye, 2005; Bhatia, 1993), all 52 letters attempted to perform the aim, yet there always lingers a faint feeling that they lack focus. One of them produced a quite effective persuasion to call the applicant for an interview (ML24), but the others created only an air of general information 'bubbling' that makes the reader put them down without considering the applicant's potentials further.

Pertaining to the rhetorical structure, the results show on the one hand that there is an overall tendency of applying the moves in the established order (Bhatia, 1993), e.g. Move 6 or 5 does not come in first or second position. However, there is quite a mess as well in the move-step structure. Generally speaking Moves 1, 2a, 2b and 2c take up the first four positions in the letters with Move 1 and 2a sometimes mixed up, and Move 2c followed by 2b instead of the other way around. The reverse order of Move 1 and Move 2a is a tendency in accord with what Bhatia (1993) says about the linguistic possibilities for phrasing these moves. He mentions that in English it is possible to put establishing credentials or offering candidature first (Bhatia, 1993, pp. 64-65). The first is represented by

> *With reference to your advertisement in the Straits Times of 1 December, 1988 for the position of fashion copywriter I would like to offer myself as a candidate for your consideration.(Bhatia, 1993, p. 64)*

where establishing credentials (Move 1) is performed by the first part of the sentence

With reference to your advertisement in the Straits Times if 1 December, 1988 for the position of fashion copywriter,

followed by offering candidature (Move 2) in

I would like to offer myself as a candidate for your consideration.

However, another order is also possible syntactically. Consider the example

I would like to apply for the position of fashion copywriter as advertised in the Straits Times of 1 December, 1988. (Bhatia, 1993, p. 65)

Due to this syntactic option in English it cannot be decided if the high frequency of Move 2a in first position in the present corpus is merely because of the linguistic possibility of the English language, or a cultural trait characteristic of Hungarian thinking.

Move 2b and 2c do not follow as Bhatia (1993) established it for the genre. Move 2c is found in 21 instances in third position whereas Move 2b takes this position only 15 times. Furthermore, Move 2c comes in fourth position in 20 cases with Move 2b following in 16 instances in fourth position. In the rest of the cases Move 2b is found in first, second, fifth, sixth, seventh and ninth position, whereas Move 2c is found is positions 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10. Using Move 2c in third and fourth position more often Move 2b, it seems that the participants felt that indicating the value of candidature (Move 2c) is more important than the essential detailing of the candidature (Move 2b). This could also explain the use of justification strategies in the corpus discussed in section 4.2.4.2, as their usage seems to suggest that the participants wanted to highlight the relevance of their application by describing the value of their candidacy first, and then felt they had to justify those values by adding the details. Consider the example

...I can work under pressure and I have face-to-face customer skills, because I worked as a waiter at lake Balaton... (ML7).

It would be interesting to see if this kind of logic in presenting values and details is a Hungarian specialty, but for that a multicultural corpus and Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) analysis (Taboada and Mann, 2006) would be needed. For the time being it has to suffice that in the present corpus value of candidature comes first before details in more cases than not. In the remaining cases these two moves are found in random places in the letters (see Table 38 pp. 167-169).

Move 3 was only used twice, but that is not surprising as Bhatia (1993) already mentioned the difficulty in identifying this move in job application letters (see discussion in section 4.2.3 on p. 161). Therefore, it is not possible to claim any conclusion concerning the use of Move 3 in the corpus, as it might very well be a feature of the genre, and not a cultural specification. Further light could be shed on the use of Move 3 by analyzing a larger and multicultural corpus.

Move 4 (enclosing documents) was found in 7 instances in third position, and in five cases in fourth, the rest of its instances being spread out between positions fifth to ninth and twelfth. Altogether half of the letters referred to enclosed documents, which seems to be less than expected considering how much experience and education the participants received on the subject of writing a motivational letter. It is possible that as this was just practice and not 'live', real-time application, participants did not think it necessary to include this move. It would be interesting to look at how often applicants do enclose documents even if the advertisements do not say it straightforwardly in real-life applications. However, due to the protection of personal rights, it was not possible to collect a corpus that consisted of real-life application letters.

Move 5 (soliciting response) was employed in 36 letters (69%), mostly around its supposed position 7. Five instances it was in position 5, in 12 instances in position 6 and in 6 instances in position 7. The rest of the cases was spread between positions 3 to 11. One of the reasons for this trend was the length of the individual letters, i.e. the longer a letter was, the most probable it was for Move 5 to appear in a later position than it is originally assigned by Bhatia (1993).

The fact that Move 6 appears once only is fairly acceptable and reasonable, as the communicative situation of applying for a job is not one where the applicant may be in a position to set the terms. It is unlikely that any pressure were useful from the side of the applicant, if he/she wanted to qualify for an interview and get the position.

Concerning the cultural analysis of the MLs, it was first concerned with whether there was any special cultural pattern in the realization of the move structure of the MLs. However, the move structure of the corpus did not lend itself to a cultural dimensional analysis, as the positioning of the moves in certain parts of the letters did not straightforwardly reflect a particular thought pattern that could be linked to IDV, PDI, or perhaps MAS. The corpus did not lend itself to an examination based on the cultural dimensional framework at the structural level of analysis, as there was no straightforward cultural characteristic different from the rhetorical features of the genre established by Bhatia (1993). For future investigations, a multicultural corpus might give more insight into this question.

The analysis of the strategies of self-representation, however, seemed to be the part where the cultural analysis was not only in line with the nativization phenomena reported by Bhatia

(1993), but was also quite clear-cut. As it was already mentioned (see section 4.2.4.1, Table 40 on p. 172), 88.5% of the letters employed self-glorification for presenting the self to the employer and 27% employed adversary glorification, which suggests a tendency for high power distance to be at play in the job seeking process of Hungarian speakers. It is argued that this strategy was felt necessary as the applicants start from an inferior position, as they start from a position originally below the level of interest of the higher ranking member, and they have to draw the attention of the reader, they must somehow stand out from the crowd. What is culturally characteristic about this choice of strategy is that instead of using self-appraisal, which would focus more on details and facts of achievement, these participants highlighted their values in the letters by general listing qualities, sometimes justifying them by some details, sometimes justifying the fact of their overall application by adversary and target glorification (i.e. the company is so good, I have to be a member, it will make me better, too.). The point is that they focus on quality of character rather on the type and quantity of previous experience that would speak for itself; they emphasize their value of candidature by glorifying themselves how much the employer would benefit if they hired them. Thus, this use of strategy is thought to be a representation of high power distance where the applicant has to "jump" the gap that exist between him/her and the employer, and does that by blowing up his/her self in addition to playing on the social responsibilities of the participant in the higher power status, i.e. to take care of the one who is below. Adversary glorification, on the other hand, is employed in order to emphasize the superior position of the employer even further, thereby justifying the actions of the applicant for disturbing the status quo by stepping out of line. By using self-glorification the applicant attempts to rise to the same position where the employer is, thereby raising the interest of the employer, who – after noticing – is expected to live up to his duty to take care of a group member lower in status without hesitation. It is argued that self-glorification and adversary glorification is used in the corpus as the result of the applicant assuming that he/she is in an unequal social position in the process of the job seeking interaction. This suggests that the situation of applying for a job is viewed and accepted by Hungarians as involving differences in power distribution, a characteristic of a high PDI culture. All in all, the strategies used in self-representation in the present corpus suggest that the cultural value orientations represented here tend toward high power distance and strong collectivism.

Further evidence for cultural dimensions in the corpus is represented by the use of strategies of justification, already mentioned in connection with the order of Move 2c and 2b in the letters from a rhetorical perspective. Half of the letters (52%) had justification of application, and 71% had justification of value in them. The pattern of using justification for the fact of application and highlighting the values of the candidate was employed to achieve the goal of the genre, i.e. to persuade the reader to give the applicant a chance at a job interview (Bhatia, 1993).

In the majority of the cases the Hungarian participants felt a strong need to justify their act of applying instead of employing self-appraisal for the presentation of the self and persuading the employer as Bhatia (1993) found it to be usually performed in examples written by native English speakers. The tendency to use justification in the MLs as a tool for persuasion suggests that the applicants consider themselves to be in a situation in which they must take up an unequal position compared to the employer. For some reason, they seem to feel it is more favorable and effective for their goals to justify their act of applying and the fact that they consider themselves to be suitable candidates instead of using other techniques. In addition, the justifications mostly included reasons for self-improvement, better career prospects or a more prestigious work environment, all of which are signs of a high power society where the boss is expected to take responsibility for the workers' well-being and progress (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). For example, in many cases justification of the value of the applicant was expressed in a way that showed the benefits of hiring the applicant for the employer instead of highlighting the benefit of the employer for hiring the applicant. In high PDI cultures, even though it is accepted that there is an inequality of power distribution within the society, it is also expected that those being in the higher spheres of power take care of the ones being lower in the hierarchical system (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). A sentence in the corpus that expresses how the applicant could grow professionally and personally from being hired

> *The other reason why I am applying for this job that I would like to see the world, travel a lot and meet with a lot of people during my work.* (ML7)

reflects exactly this underlying value, namely, that the applicants thinks it is the employer's duty to help the applicant grow professionally and personally, and tries to take advantage of this unwritten rule of conduct towards the employer.

Furthermore, there was a general tendency for favor seeking atmosphere to the letters. Favor seeking is a request which usually requires negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In addition, favor seeking is a face threatening act (FTA) as well, as the request imposes on the hearer (in this case the reader) to pay attention to the request whether he/she wants it or not (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The strategies an interactant uses to soften the imposition and/or defend his/her face in the interaction largely depends on his/her cultural value orientations (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998). The situation reflected here is one where the applicants feel they are imposing on the reader – even though they are replying to a job advertisement, which means that the initial step in the communicative process was made by the employer and not the applicants. Yet they feel it necessary to justify the act of applying. This suggests that the participants consider the situation as one where there is unequal power distribution on one hand.

On the other, they are imposing on the reader, that is, they take up their time because the application must be read and by applying they force the employer to reply. This seems to trigger a row of preventive self-defending facework strategies which are characteristic of collectivist cultures (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998).

Thus, self-representation by way of self-glorification in addition to justification of application and value suggest that the culture of the applicants considers the job application process as a favor seeking situation, where putting oneself in the forefront is done, as it cannot be avoided if one wants to achieve the aim, but it is softened right away by constant explanation of the applicants' deeds. It is like as if one was saying: "I'm sorry to disturb you with who I am and what I want, but here are the things why you shouldn't be angry at my impertinence – you'll benefit from it while you're helping me out a great deal…"

Unfortunately, due to the written nature of the communicative process in the case of job application, it remains unclear whether the use of justification is really a preventive self-defending strategy, a tendency in collectivist cultures (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998), or it is present to such extent because the job application process is viewed as a favor seeking situation, where giving reason is an essential part of stage two (Held (1989) as cited in McCarthy and Carter, 1994). In addition, it could be claimed that also the signs in the difference in power distance of the reader and the applicant are purely the result of the favor seeking context, and not a result of underlying cultural value orientations. Nonetheless, it seems plausible that collectivism and high power distance are characteristic features of the participants involved in this study, as Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) reports the use of self-enhancement strategies (i.e. self-appraisal in Bhatia's term) in the competitive situation of applying for a job by individualist cultures, which was lacking in the present corpus. For a unanimous conclusion, a larger multicultural corpus should be collected and submitted to analysis.

All in all, the 56 CVs and the 52 MLs showed that the applicants had knowledge and some practice in producing a tabular format CV with mostly relevant information and content expected based on the genre characteristics. They had less experience with writing motivational letters both in their mother tongue and in English, and even though the MLs in the corpus more or less exhibited the expected move-structure based on Bhatia (1993), signs of nativization of the strategies employed for indicating the value of candidature were detected. This is represented in the corpus by the extensive employment of self-glorification, as well as the existence of justification of application and justification of value in the letters. In addition, the politeness and facework strategies preferred seem to be culturally characteristic, too.

The CV and ML analysis showed characteristics relating to the three dimensions of hierarchy, collectivism and high context dependence. These characteristics however were not

possible to identify in each letter, so that scores could have been assigned to each of them and means calculated. For instance, PDI was established as underlying the letters since 39 MLs (76%) showed some form of a favor seeking interaction, which probably reflects high power distance values (Held (1989) as cited in McCarthy and Carter, 1994). In addition, ten letters were also characterized as having structural and linguistic solutions testifying to high power distance values. However, it would have been unfounded data analysis to equate the presence of more elements showing PDI as a score of 5 in one letter, and less elements as a score of 2 or 3 in another. Rather the ML corpus was labeled overall as scoring 'high' on the dimension of hierarchy, and a '5' was allocated as a general numerical result. This made possible to calculate only the mode of the ML corpus on PDI, but not the mean. Similarly, due to the general favor-seeking nature of the letters, the corpus overall was labeled as representing collectivist values in the job application process. Because certain structures were characteristic of individualist cultures, the final tag on the dimension of identity was labeled 'rather low', which was turned into a score of 2. Finally, in as much as information on the applicants was formulated in an unspecific style with many negative politeness strategies, the letters showed signs of high context dependence. So, the label 'high' was given for this dimension, which was converted into a '5' in the numerical scale according to the conversion rules set up in Table 7 on p. 88 to indicate the tendency of the ML corpus.

4.2.5.1 Answer to research question 3

To sum up, the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of the curricula vitae and motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language in higher education (research question 3) is one that tends towards high power distance, collectivism, and high context dependence. It seems that Hungarian job applicants do not think of themselves as equals with the employers. They display word usage and sentence structures that show they consider themselves as intruders asking for a favor. To avoid complete face loss in this 'begging' situation they feel they are in; they use politeness strategies that require reading between the lines from the employer, i.e. the reader of their CV and ML. Furthermore, their presumed subordinate situation brings out their 'other-orientation' as Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) put it. This means they stroke the employer's image and pride in order to get a chance for a job interview instead of showing themselves in a favorable light. It could of course be claimed that culturally apt CVs written by native English speakers might also include elements that try to show the prospective employer in a better light as well. In addition, individual variation cannot be taken out of the equation either. Nonetheless, what the corpus shows is the tendency that despite linguistic adequacy in a foreign language, despite adhering to the format of a genre, the realization of self-

representation, politeness and face saving does not follow automatically in a way appropriate for the target culture.

4.2.5.2 Answer to research question 3.1

The cultural differences to be observed by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English (research question 3.1) should be the use of the strategy of self-appraisal and justification, as well as politeness and face negotiation strategies. The current nature of the job market situation is loaded with cultural differences per se. Employers and human resource experts, whether Hungarian or a foreigner living in Hungary, have priorities, know what they want, and usually do not have time to read reader-responsible CVs where the task and responsibility is on them to see if the candidate is valuable for them or not. The existence of the demand-and-supply situation in the job market should make applicants accommodate themselves to the requirements, if they want to get a position at a certain company. They are not in the position to dictate the course of events. Practicality simply does not make it possible for selection specialists to envisage applicants' potentials. It has to be take-it-or-leave it; otherwise it is too much time. Here lies the key cultural difference though: as long as the job market is dictated by the values that time is money, and that practicality is of utmost importance – which are of course essential if profit and production is to be increased steadily as it is the case in today's mainstream market economy –, members of a culture where relationships are more important than rules, where achievement is albeit respected, it is by ascription that one gets a chance in the first place (see section 4.1.5 above), practicality cannot be of real value in such a culture. It should come then as no surprise that according to the results of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH), 40% of job-seekers find jobs in Hungary through the grapevine, and only 13% get a position through regular selection processes, i.e. by applying for a job advertisement (http://www.gerillaoneletrajz.hu/uj-allast-gyorsabban/). It should not be a surprise that applicants sneer at the way they "have to glorify themselves again" (Furka, 2008, p. 33) at the thousandth times to no avail. They are forced by the prevalent job application process to behave according to values that are actually foreign to their cultural value orientations. They are forced to write (and think) according to a point of view that is alien to anything they have encountered before during their lives. No wonder they hate it. No wonder they fail. No wonder they are not motivated to change their attitude. They do not even know where to start.

4.2.5.3 Answer to research question 3.2

The difficulties for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when writing a curriculum vitae and a motivational letter in English (research question 3.2) are due to the cultural difference between the Hungarian and English way of thinking that is reflected in the different versions of self representation in the situation of applying for a job. The characteristic way of thinking for Hungarians is a holistic one in the present corpus which would be termed as synthetic in Trompenaars' terminology (Trompenaars, 1998). Holistic world view and self representation are a problem when writing CVs and MLs because they might hinder the applicant in showing him/herself only from a relevant perspective. It seems to be difficult for Hungarians to distinguish between what information and aspect of their self is important and relevant for the job application in question.

Another dimension lying beneath the difficulties is that of collectivism which was reflected in the face negotiation strategies. An English ML would use more restorative self-defending face work in a competitive situation such as a job application (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998), which reflects an individualistic tendency. The collectivist values determining the face negotiation strategies block the writers in producing a text according to individualistic values.

Furthermore, the dimension of power distance may lie beneath the fact that Hungarian participants consider the job seeking process as one of favor-seeking, which in turn triggers the use of extensive negative politeness strategies. Using negative politeness strategies create an image of overall subservience and hinders them from presenting their achievements in a factual manner, because that would mean boasting, which is not tolerated in a culture where standing out from the crowed is not valued.

Finally, the dimension of context dependence may also be behind problems for Hungarian learners of English. As the English CVs and MLs need a clearly focused self-representation, The generalized references to skills and qualification in the CVs, as well as the unspecific descriptions of self in the MLs, such as 'I have three language exams, so I am good at communicating with others' (ML63), or 'I have worked as a waitress for two summers at Lake Balaton, so I am good at communicating with people'(ML7) do not suffice to illustrate the side of the self that is relevant for the advertised position.

4.2.5.4 Answer to research question 3.3

Concerning research question 3.3 the data suggest that the participants' output was influenced by their input of learning about CV and ML writing to the extent that CV formats were mostly kept. Some MLs showed more practice than others, but the general impression was that whatever they had learnt about how to write an ML did not transfer to practice. On the other hand,

it could be argued that young adults on the verge of entering the job market, or having entered it only a little earlier might not have enough practice and experience from real life situations of writing applications, therefore it is not fair to expect them to perform better. The data show that learning about how a CV and ML should be written and writing them once or twice before it becomes relevant for students in real life does not seem to be enough.

4.2.5.5 Answer to research question 3.4

As to how Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language can be trained to adjust to the cultural differences of the genres of the curriculum vitae and the motivational letter (research question 3.4), the first step would be to raise awareness (Trompenaars and Woolliams, 2003) of the differences between the values of the current selection processes and the values of the Hungarian applicants. Then reading as many authentic and successful MLs as possible would promote the establishment of a mental template, a schema, of the CV and the ML in students' minds. Practicing self-appraisal and specifically expressing positive opinion about oneself would be essential. Hungarian learners of English should pay attention to being more precise in their wording when they try to present the relevant aspects of their self and their career leaving no room for the reader's thoughts or interpretations. They should become less high context dependent and produce writer responsible texts. In addition, the technique of focusing, of narrowing down a topic, in this case the self, is something that needs extra practice. They need to watch their use of language so as not to project an image of overall subservience as their C1 would prescribe them to do, but rather practice ways of expressing their achievements without sounding boastful. Furthermore, practicing shifting of frame of reference in order to learn to think with the head of an employer could make the applicants understand what helps a selection specialist choose one CV and ML over another would be essential. They need to practice writing with the reader's point of view in mind and changing perspectives to understand that presenting oneself from a certain angle does not eliminate the rest of the personality. They need to understand that even though they seem to think of personality as a monument, something that does not change, or only very little and over a long period of time (Minkov, 2007), the fact that they show and talk about themselves sometimes within a restricted frame, not the 'whole baggage going with it', does not change who they are. They need to practice adapting different perspectives of themselves and showing only that aspect, if they want to adapt to the requirements of the job market. They need to understand that behaving according to certain values does not diminish the values they were brought up with. They need to develop a second identity and understand that the new one is nothing less – or more – than the first one, just different.

4.3 The Hungarian CVOP from interviews with foreigners and Hungarians: results

This study focused on the connection between cultural value orientations and verbal and non-verbal behavior from the perspective of CVOS in order to make recommendations for Foreign Language Education (FLE) in Hungary. From freshly conducted interviews with foreigners and Hungarians working together on a regular basis, the research questions to be answered are as follows:

4. What is the cultural value orientation profile of Hungary in the light of 28 interviews conducted with 14 foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and 14 Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis?

4.1 What kind of intercultural misunderstandings occur when Hungarians and foreigners work together on a regular basis in Hungary or abroad?

4.2 What cultural differences need to be observed for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when working with foreigners on a regular basis?

4.3 Which cultural dimensions lie beneath the misunderstandings between Hungarians and foreigners working together on a regular basis?

4.4 How can Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language be trained to adjust to the misunderstandings that might occur in their communication with foreigners?

The majority of the interviewees were males (8 females and 20 males) with an average amount of 10 years of intercultural experience. They all speak English, some German, French, Italian, Chinese and some Russian (Q1). Their contact with foreigners is on a daily basis (Q2). They included Hungarian, American, Scottish, English, German and Japanese nationalities. Some of them are native speakers of English (11 interviewees). Eleven of the interviewees work in the private sector, one was a student in a Master of Arts program at the time of the interview, and 16 were from the world of academia specializing in arts or sciences. Their age was between 23 and 62. The foreign interviewees are referred to with the acronym IF, while the Hungarians by IH.

Concerning whether employers had looked for skills in them relevant for working in an intercultural environment at the time of their selection process (Q3), three answered in a way that this information was not deductible (IF1, IF5, IH12). 15 of them said that no intercultural skills were explicitly asked for (IH9, 8, 6, 4-1, IF14-10, 7, 3, 2). Five said only language skills were checked with the assumption that high level of language proficiency would entail managing intercultural encounters successfully in their professional life as well (IF6, 8, 9 IH5, 7). Only five out of the 28 interviewees replied that their employers were explicitly looking for intercultural skills (IF4, IH10, 11, 13, 14), and four of them gave details as well (IH14, 13, 11, 4). These included being a native speaker (which was basically meant as the equivalent of language skills), knowing the culture of the foreign clientele, the ability to communicate with other cultures, or

having any prejudices against working with foreigners. No exact skills were named as far as they could remember.

When asked about what their general impression was about the cultural values of Hungarians (Q4), respondents named issues such as the importance of family connections (e.g. IF5, 6, 8), the differences in a Hungarian friendship and the friendship between foreigners (IF2), the national pride in famous Hungarian inventors and the once glorified 'Big-Hungary'-theme (IF4). Other values included the need for freedom (IH7, 8), reliability (IH2), the need to survive (IF11, 12, IH5, 8), and the importance of social contacts (IH14, 7), as well as a general suspicion of multinational companies together with their team-building trainings (IH11). These remarks were possible to categorize into the cultural dimensions on which this investigation is based. The values and characteristics most frequently mentioned belong to the dimension of IDV-COLL (16 instances), with the scale tipping towards COLL (COLL: 11 instances, IDV: 5). The values mentioned most frequently after IDV-COLL belong to the category of ASCR-ACH (13 instances), with examples such as the importance of professional expertise and achievement. The tip of the scale leans towards ACH (10 instances, ASCR: 3). The values mentioned at the third place were the characteristic of Hungarians displaying emotions, which fact reflects the dimension of AFF-NEUT (9 instances). The opinions all agreed that showing emotions in Hungarian social life is an important aspect. The fourth most frequently mentioned values concerning the question on general Hungarian values were those of UAI with six cases, all of them referring to the preference of avoiding uncertainty in Hungarian lives. Then came DIFF-SPEC with five cases, with four SPEC and one DIFF instance, LTO with four mentions, MAS-FEM with three, PDI and HC-LC with two each, and finally PART and OUTER with one instance each. Table 44 shows a summary of the results on question 4 of the interview schedule.

most frequently occurring dimensions in HU values	Number of instances of the dimension, regardless of which pole
IDV-COLL	16
ASCR	13
AFF	9
UAI	6
DIFF-SPEC	5
LTO	4
MAS-FEM	3
PDI	2
HC-LC	2
PART	1
OUTER	1

Table 44. The list of the most frequently emerging cultural dimensions in the answers to the Hungarian values in general.

The next question (Q5) aimed at pinpointing situations that are generally problematic with Hungarians for those involved in them. It was reported that the most frequent problems originate in the power distance system of the Hungarian culture. Foreigner interviewees mostly recollected the bureaucratic ordeal of applying for visas each year (IF2, 3) or having things done at a post office (IF9, 8). Customer service in general tends to show the distinction between the in-group and out-group, i.e. those belonging to the in-group are treated much better and with favors than those who are considered outsiders. In this case foreigners would definitely count as outsiders, but in a Hungarian-to-Hungarian interaction issues rooted in in-group and out-group categories could come up too (e.g. the unwillingness to help customer at a post office or cashier in the supermarket). In addition, the lack of flexibility in procedures seems to be another fairly frequently noticed issue (IF5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, IH8). Other marked cases were the Hungarian way of queuing at bus stops or bars (PART), which seems to be indecipherable to foreign thinking (IF14). In addition, blaming others or outside circumstances for failure of performing a task or keeping a deadline (IF10) were mentioned, as well as 'the national death wish' of being a failure, and that nothing will ever ease life in Hungary (OUTER) (IF1). Furthermore, the complaint about the relatively superficial nature of contacts of the Americans compared to the Hungarians (COLL) (IH9, IF2), and the tendency to form cliques when foreigners are present (IDV) was reported (IF9). Moreover, the hospitality of Hungarians was mentioned as a characteristic feature (IF1, 3), together with the tendency for national pride (LTO) (IF4), and assigning high esteem to anything coming from abroad (PDI) (IF11). Finally, the indirectness of the communication style of Hungarians was mentioned a few times (HC)(IF3, IF6). Table 45 below shows the summary of the dimensions behind the most frequently occurring problematic situations.

most frequently occurring dimensions problematic situations	Number of instances of the dimension, regardless of which pole
PDI	7
IDV-COLL	5
OUTER	3
HC-LC	3
DIFF-SPEC	2
LTO	2
UAI	2
POLY	2
PART	1
AFF	1

Table 45. The list of the most frequently emerging cultural dimensions in the answers to the problematic situations.

Concerning misunderstandings (Q6), respondents mentioned misunderstandings due to the lack of proper language knowledge as the problem emerging the most often (10 instances).

Unfortunately, they were not able to specify what they meant by this term, so it is possible that the actual problem did not belong to linguistic knowledge, but rather the pragmatic or explicitly cultural knowledge of the target culture was meant. Three other replies were positive but did not specify the type of misunderstanding (IH3, 5, 8), whereas an additional one referred to gestures causing misunderstandings (IH13). Nonetheless, other issues belonging to context-dependence (HC) were mentioned, as well as misunderstandings resulting from the difference of the interactants on OUTER and IDV-COLL dimension. The former included situations where Hungarians showed an unwillingness to solve problems (IF3, 1), and a mistrust towards the direction the course of events would actually change (IF3, 10). The latter was detectable in situations of kindness shown towards members of the in-group (IF5), or the exclusion of foreigners from the socializing process when enough Hungarians were present to switch completely to Hungarian for the language of conversation (IH11). Only one respondent said that knowing a language without proper cultural knowledge and competence basically means not knowing the language in question (IH11). Table 46 summarizes the results to question 6 of the interview schedule in terms of the emerging dimensions.

most frequently occurring dimensions in misunderstandings	Number of instances of the dimension, regardless of which pole
language	10
HC-LC	3
yes	3
OUTER	2
IDV-COLL	2
UAI	1
POLY	1
yes gestures	1

Table 46. The list of the most frequently emerging cultural dimensions occurring in misunderstandings.

Whether communication breakdown occurs even if there is sufficient and appropriate linguistic knowledge (Q7), 22 out of the 28 respondents said it was possible. Most of them brought up examples of communication breakdown referring to the fact that even in one's mother tongue misunderstandings are quite possible, let alone in a second or foreign language. Only one respondent said it is the lack of culture knowledge that can aggravate communication between interactants with differing nationalities (IH9). One mentioned the display of emotions as a major source of problems (IH10), one other mentioned gestures in general (IF3). For example, the respondent noted that Hungarians tend to use more lively gestures during conversation than Germans generally do, which gives Hungarians the air of either agitation or fierce anger (for the respondent at least). Another interviewee mentioned that inflexibility in a situation may cause serious breakdown (IF9), or the termination of communication per se, which may be due to the tendency of uncertainty avoidance manifesting in a situation.

Finally among the more general questions, a question was included in the interview schedule to elicit instances of communication breakdown due to non-verbal behavioral elements (Q8). Anecdotes in replies included mostly cultural differences in bodily gestures, e.g. putting out your hands with your palm turned outside means 'come here' among Italians, where in Hungary it would rather mean stay away. Other bodily gestures mentioned were different types of nodding, different practices in kisses and hugs, i.e. where to give kisses, when and to whom. A case of difference in PDI could be when after a job interview the applicant and the interviewer both thought it was the other's responsibility to make the next step and inquire about the result of the interview (IF7). As it was not done on the side of the applicant, he did not get an opportunity to stay further involved in the selection process. Finally, another interesting difference in body gestures lead to a misunderstanding for a Hungarian business delegation in China, because they were not aware that bending a little finger in front of others does not signal 'how little' something is, but is an offence, which left the delegation without closing the deal at the end of the negotiations (IH5). The dimensions involved in non-verbal communication breakdown with Hungarians are summarized in Table 47 below.

Most frequently occurring dimensions in nonverbal communication breakdowns	Number of instances of the dimension, regardless of which pole
AFF	3
PART	2
PDI	1
POLY	1

Table 47. Instances of occurrence of dimensions in nonverbal communication breakdown.

The second main section of the interview schedule targeted the 12 cultural dimensions deducted from the literature review. Some dimensions were addressed with more questions in order to ensure that as many aspects of a dimension would be represented as possible. The first dimension addressed was that of hierarchy, represented in power distance relations (Q9) and the use of informal and formal language (Q10). The 28 respondents provided answers ranging from seeing power distance in the financial well-being of the different levels of society (IF13, IH8, IH9, IH14), to situations such as colleagues going out together for a beer after work and the obvious difficulty of mingling freely with the boss (IF10, IH11). Others mentioned how teachers sometimes expressed their wish to have their students fearful of them ensuring their progress and development this way (IF8). Other instances of evidence of power distance in the Hungarian society included the existence of the welfare system (IF13), the different behavior in front of the boss and behind his back (IH12), the fact that people do not step up against injustice coming from the higher spheres of the society (IF4, IF6), even if they are deeply suspicious of the leading group (IF1). Yet others see a more egalitarian power distance relation in the educational system in

Hungary which is thought to be available to more children regardless of their financial background than in the UK or the USA (IF1, IF3). Finally, others claim to see no major difference in power distance in Hungary compared to the UK (IF9, IH1), or the USA (IF12). After coding the answer in the verbal than the numerical scale as described in the Methods section 3.1.3 (p. 95), the mean and the mode for Q9 was calculated. The average for hierarchy (Q9) was 3.82 with a mode of 4.

The other question on hierarchy (Q10) resulted in answers reflecting that there is a strong distinction between with whom formal or informal language is used in Hungarian. Generally speaking there is a tendency for using the formal version for unacquainted people (IF3, IF7, IH7), younger people addressing older ones (IF6, IH1, IH4), and students speaking with teachers (IH2). However, as soon as one belongs to the company in some form or other, the informal usage seems to be the norm at least in the offices of the interviewees, regardless of status or age (IH1, IH14). Finally, some respondents did not see a difference in the usage of formal or informal language compared to Germany (IH12, IF11), or the UK (IF9). For the latter it was mentioned it is expressed differently (IF9). The average for formal and informal language usage (Q10) was 3.37 with a mode of 4. Thus, based on the two questions, the cumulative mean for the dimension of hierarchy is 3.6 with a mode of 4.

Concerning the IDV-COLL dimension the question addressed whether people in Hungary put the individual or the group in the forefront (Q11). The answers ranged from emphasizing the fact that people do share resources (IF5), do tend to leave foreigners out from their in-group unless they try hard enough to get below a superficial connection (IF1). In addition, the system of forms in schools was reported to favor long-term group formation and cohesion, and there is less emphasis on forming new relationships and acquaintances (IF1, IH3). On the other hand, people do tend to take advantage of situations where they as an individual, or their families, may get ahead (IF6, IF13, IH12, IH11, IH10, IH8-5), even if it only means taking some toilet paper home from work (IH4). Corruption and the practice of the brown envelope were mentioned as another form of individualism where the interest of the person in the position overrode the interest of the group/nation he/she was hired to represent (IH8, IH9, IF9). Finally, the tendency of individualism was present in the interviews in the stories on lack of collaboration (IF4), or the cut-throat competition that surfaces as soon as competitors feel threatened (IF10). On the whole, the final mean score for the IDV-COLL dimension was determined at 2.79, with a mode of 3.

Relating to the question if the traditional set up of roles is still characteristic in the society (Q12), the majority of the respondents said men tend to have traditional roles of being the breadwinner in the family (IF1, IF4, IH1, IH4, IH 7, IH 14), but there are a number of women taking this role as well (IH4, IF13-7). However, most of them prefer the traditional setup.

Unfortunately, the economic situation of the families not always permits the parents to stick to these roles, and then practicality takes over (IH14). Nonetheless, there are a number of women managers in the world of business that would tip the scale towards FEM, but they do not seem to manage to break through the glass ceiling effect (IF2). The number of women professionals could also increase in the world of academia (IF11). The average for the wide acceptance of traditional roles in the society (Q12) was 3.57 with a mode of 4.

The other question whether competition is present in the society or not (Q13) was answered with an equal emphasis on fierce competition (IF2, IF4, IF11-IF14, IH2-4,) with a specialty of causing problems for the competitors instead of 'let the best win' attitude (IF4, IF1, IF5, IF7, IH8- 13), but the respondents also noticed the phenomenon of cooperation and taking care of others as well (IF3, IH 14). The average for the existence in competition versus cooperation (Q13) was 3.5 with a mode of 4. As a result, the average mean for the dimension of MAS-FEM is 3.54 with a mode of 4.

Regarding the dimension of privacy, the question aimed at finding out whether Hungarians' public or private life is divided, or it is overlapping in certain spheres of life (Q14). The answers reflect a tendency for bringing private issues into work (IF1-2, IH1) in as much as sharing the stories with colleagues go (IH5) or bringing family members to Christmas events (IF6), but taking work home (IF7, IF11) or spending free time with the bosses unless it is compulsory is not a trend (IF10, IH11). Also, as one of the foreigners mentioned, in England when you are honorable in your private life you will be thought of as such on your public life as well, whereas in Hungary it is not necessarily the case based on the experience of the respondent (IF1). The final average mean was 2.89 with a mode of 2.

The dimension of status was investigated with two questions. The first was concerned with what one has to do in Hungary to be respected (Q15). Answers have a tendency to be mixed as the average score was a mean of 2.96 and a mode of 3. This is rooted in the fact that whereas qualifications are very important for Hungarians not only in the form of certificates (IH1, IF3, IF10), but also in improving their level of professional knowledge (IH4), yet the society seem to work on the basis of who knows who (IF4), who your parents were and what kind of car you drive and how much money you have (IF5, 7, 10, 12, 14, IH7, IH11, 13). Celebrities (IH9) and work a lot and work well – brings results (and respect), but not financially (IH1, 2, 3, 6, 7).

When asked more explicitly whether ascribed status or achieved status is more respected in Hungary (Q16), replies implied that first one needs to have a favorable background in order to start something, but then achievement needs to support it in the long run (IH11, 12, 14). As IF1 put it, "the notion of do it yourself and pull yourself up and do your own thing has become much-much stronger". The tendency to value achievement is reflected in the high standard of medical

and other research (IF2), but many respondents highlighted that political life works on the basis of ascribed status (IF4, 5, 14). Getting a job is mostly successful through acquaintances (IH14, IF6). As a result, the second question of status also resulted in a medium score of 23 with a mode of 3, putting the overall results for the dimension of status at a mean of 2.95 with a mode of 3.

The dimension of context was targeted with two questions, one focusing on whether foreigners were left out of Hungarian conversations and then the had to ask for what was going on, a signal of a high context society (Q17), as well as whether things were generally explained in Hungary, or one had to read between the line and assume things (Q18). On the first question, Hungarians tend to leave foreigners to themselves to find out what is going on in a certain situation (IH13, 4), and had difficulties adjusting to the request of the foreign bosses to say everything in their common language and not in Hungarian (IH11). In addition, jokes trending on social media tend not to be explained to foreigners either (IF8, IH14). Compared to the Japanese however, Hungarians tend to express everything more explicitly (IF6). The average for question 17 came with a mean of 3.73 with a mode of 4.

To question 18, whether things must be inferred rather they are explicitly explained to start with, respondents complained of being left out most of the time (IF2, 8), one thinks that generally speaking providing information is pretty good in Hungary (IF1), whereas others had to chase after information a lot (IF7, 9). In one instance (IF13), an email written in English by a Hungarian caused some uproar among the English speaking colleague in the institution due to the letter's abrupt, and too direct language and tone. The respondent said though, that if the communication was done orally, it would not have caused the same upheaval, however, in writing it was felt inappropriate for the interactants and the topic involved. Other respondents (IH11 and IH5) mentioned the difficulty of having to translate hidden messages from Hungarian to a foreign language, indicating the fact that they were aware of the importance of these meanings. IH5 also mentioned a case when his boss dictated him notes for a letter he was to write up for him, but when the letter was finished the boss almost had him fired as the letter contained a completely different meaning than what the boss intended to have written down. IH1 had a story where she had difficulty translating a legal text in Hungarian into everyday Hungarian, but that might have been due to lack of professional knowledge. Another interesting case was mentioned concerning office hours, where a certain schedule was published, but it was not reliable, as the person in question may not actually be available when the schedule said so. The results for question 18 show a mean of 3.65 with a mode of 4, and an overall mean of 3.69 for the two questions concerning context with a mode of 4.

The dimension of rules versus relationships was investigated with three questions. Q19 asked whether one should keep the rules and get to work on time, or help a family member who

asks for help; respondents reported that helping a family member would most of the time come before keeping rules and regulations with some exceptions making a distinction between bigger or smaller problems of the friend in question. In addition, replies included that breaking driving rules would be common as well (IF13), the brown envelope to doctors was mentioned as a case representing preferring relationships over keeping rules (IF11), the lack of trust in business (IF4), and the general tendency for coming late to classes (IF1). The average of the scores to Q19 was a mean of 3.82 with a mode of 4.

As to whether Hungarians keep the law (Q20), the interviewees mentioned that there are different rules for different people (IF9, IF10) that cheating is a collective pass time in schools (IF2, IH6), and that the most characteristic feature of the Hungarian legal system is that everybody tries to avoid taxes and they can do this due to the existence of the loopholes (IF1, 3, 4, 5, 11, 14, IH4, 9, IH14). Opinions were supported for instance by anecdotes where police officers smoked in the streets when it had actually been banned in all public places (IF10), or when lost wallets were found, but only the documents were sent back (saying they would be too hard to get again), but not the optional money that could have been in the wallet (IF2). The average score for Q20 was a mean of 3.68 with a mode of 4.

The third question for this dimension went back to tapping into the practice of making exceptions (Q21), which resonated with answers previously given to Q20 about rules in as much as making exceptions was thought of as resulting in bribery (IF10), pure and illogical preference (IH14), or a result of in-group membership (IF1, 3, 5, IH12). In these cases it seems rules and regulations do not apply to everyone. This is also shown by the high amount of (perceived?) nepotism mentioned by the interviewees (IF2, 5). The average score for Q21 was a mean of 3.86 with a mode of 4. With the three questions for the dimension of rules versus relationships, therefore, the tendency is reflected in a mean of 3.79 with a mode of 4.

The next dimension in the interview schedule was concerned with showing emotions (Q22). The results show that Hungarians are seen as rather emotional as far as showing negative emotions are concerned (for example IH4, IH11 and IH14). IF12 and IF9 both mentioned that showing emotions is different towards the public, i.e. when one is among people who are not close to him/her. In addition, emotional display is also gender based (IF3), as it is tolerated more for women to let their feelings show, whether positive or negative, whereas men are taught explicitly to hide their feelings (boys should not cry). Furthermore, it is also age based (IF7) as children are scolded less for displaying their either positive or negative emotions. Overall, there seems to be a distinction between in-group membership and outsiders, in as much as insiders may see everything from our emotions, whereas they should be hidden in front of outsiders. This latter suggests a SPEC tendency as well. Interestingly, coder 2 included items referring to national pride

of Hungarians under the dimension AFF-NEUT with the explanation that being proud and talking proudly about one's country and the country's achievements is a kind of emotional display. For the question concerning showing emotions (Q22) the average mean score was 3.85 with a mode of 4.

The next cultural characteristic investigated was the relationship of Hungarians towards nature and motivation. Whether Hungarians think that they can form the environment and their lives (Q23), the replies reflected a strong tendency to feel hopeless (IF14), pessimistic (IF2) and submissive (IH8). Hungarians tend to complain about everything (IF6), but they do not seem to think they should actually do something in order to change the situation (IH14). IF4 explained this phenomenon as a result of Hungarian historical events, which have been characterized by centuries of somebody else telling Hungarians what to do. On the other hand, the amount of inventions created by Hungarians seems to reflect a belief that they can have an effect on their environment (IF8). The average for this item was a mean of 3.68 with a mode of 4.

Concerning whether Hungarians are motivated because of their inner aspirations, the respondents were quick to emphasize the fact that due to the economic situation of most Hungarians – just as the Maslow pyramid of needs suggests – they are mostly interested in pure survival (IH9, 10, 4, IF14, 13, 10, 8, 2). Nonetheless, as achievement is important for Hungarians, inner motivation was also perceived among Hungarians (IF1, 5, 9, 11, 12, IH1, 13). The average score for the question of inner or outer motivation was 3.75 with a mode of 4. The result for the dimension of nature and motivation based on the two questions was 3.71, with a mode of 4.

The next dimension, that of short-term orientation vs. long-term orientation is a complex one made up by diverse sub-values. Altogether six questions were aimed at investigating this dimension. When asked about whether Hungarians prefer to take risks or tend to stick to the traditional way of doings things (Q25), the respondents replied that young people tended to take more risks with their lives than older people, as the latter prefer to have things the way they have been earlier (IH5, 6, 7). Some see Hungarians as wanting to keep the status quo of things (IF12), as well as being afraid of mistakes (IF7), therefore rather not risking trying new things. On the other hand, there are the famous Hungarian inventions (IF1) which reflect a curiosity and motivation for new things. Based on the replies, the average score for this sub-question of LTO-STO (Q25) was 3.15 with a mode of 4.

The value of planning ahead, thinking about the future and the expectations of it (Q26) were also seen as showing gender based differences with an emphasis on short-term orientation (IH3, IF2). This seems to resonate with the phenomenon of entrepreneurs wanting short-term profits (IF4), people showing higher level of living standards than they can actually afford (IH10), and complaining about life as it is, but not taking control over it or taking risks to change it (IF8).

In most cases, however, respondents (both Hungarians and foreigners) saw Hungarians as short-term oriented for the simple reason of financial survival. They apparently do not have the luxury of thinking further ahead and plan things out, as they are focused on their immediate problems (IH1, IF12). The average for this question (Q26) was 2.56 with a mode of 2.

The third question for the dimension of virtue involved investigating the attitude of Hungarians to spending (Q27). Most of the answers highlighted the fact that young people tend to spend more (IH3), that Hungarians in general spend more than they can allow themselves (IF3), and that their spending habits do not reflect a forward-thinking attitude (IF3, 4, IH14). Some respondents highlighted the fact that there is not much excess budget left over after paying bills and providing the family with the basic food demand, so it is not easy to make any special plans of spending or not spending (IF8, 9, 12, 13, IF1):

> *I think there's a sort of 'do watch', there's a 'might as well spend it because it won't be worth anything tomorrow'. I think that's quite strong here. (IF1)*

One respondent found it interesting how Hungarians would have home made pre-packed lunch, and then would go and spend their money on something else (IF6). The average for the question on spending habits (Q27) was a mean of 2.5 with a mode of 2.

For the next question in the virtue dimension it was investigated whether Hungarians thought the self, i.e. the personality is something solid and monument-like, therefore hard to change, or something that can be worked on and improved (Q27). Answers varied from Hungarians thinking of their personalities as fixed (IF1, 3, 7, 8), to believing in the possibility of improvement through learning and training (IF2, 5, 7, IH1, 4-7, 12, 14). The average for this question was a mean of 3.43 with a mode of 4 towards LTO.

As to pride (Q28), out of the 28 respondents 26 said that Hungarians are extremely proud of their country. Sometimes they were even irritated by the fact that they had to listen to the Great Hungary-topic over and over again (IF8), some thought it was interesting that Hungarians celebrate the Revolution of 1848 and 1956 in which cases they failed to achieve their goals (IF4, IF1, IF8). These respondents found it annoying to have to listen to past things no one can change any more and felt Hungarians should let go. Another form of pride is reflected in how Hungarians boast about famous inventors, who in fact usually did not perform their actual work in Hungary (IH14). In addition, there seems to be a difference of being proud of Hungary while being in Hungary and being abroad. One respondent reported that it was weird how Hungarians are proud of being Hungarians but avoid each other abroad, and try to deny the connection, as if it was shameful (IH3). Finally, pride was thought to result in the adamant attitude of some Hungarians stating they would never ever leave Hungary to live elsewhere in the world (IF8). The average on pride (Q28) was a mean of 3.93 with a mode of 4.

The last aspect of the virtue dimension was that of service to others (Q30). The question aimed to find answers to whether Hungarians were helpful and generous on the whole. Results show that while Hungarians tend to be generous with their time and efforts (IF5), they also do this toward family members and friends (IF2, 6, 9, 13, 14, IH1, 14), but also to foreigners (great hospitality of Hungarians (IF1). However, they tend not too generous with their financial resources (IH14, IH5), which could be in connection with previous observations that most Hungarian family do not have excess money to dispose of in any form. Finally, they may be very impolite to strangers in the service sector, such as in situations at post offices (IF1) and supermarkets (IF8). In the former, a tendency of in-group versus out-group distinction is present in as much as the clerk at the post office was on the phone with her daughter, talking to her on a very warm and encouraging tone (DIFF to talk to family member during office hours), but turned ice-cold when doing her job for the customer in line (IF1). The mean average for the generosity and helpfulness of Hungarians (Q30) was 3.5 with a mode of 4. All in all, the six questions covering the dimensions of virtue provided the average mean score of 3.18 with a mode of 4.

The second to last dimension was concerned with how Hungarians tolerate uncertainty. First, respondents were asked if Hungarians preferred one absolute truth as opposed to diverse possibilities (Q31). Respondents pointed out that Hungarians tend to follow what others think is right instead of going after answer by themselves (IF3, 5, 8, 12, IH4, IH14). In the educational setting, students do not seem to have their own ideas, but wish to repeat what their teachers think is right (IF2, IH8). Others found that Hungarians believe in their own right (IH11), and when they do, they tend to split into different groups based on who thinks what is right (IH5). Finally, Hungarians are perceived as always looking for the most negative view of things (IF10), which is in accordance with the constant complaining feature of Hungarians. However, there were those who thought that Hungarians do have their own individual opinions as well (IH7). The average for this item was 3.71 with a mode of 4.

On the second question concerning uncertainty avoidance, respondents were asked whether Hungarians prefer to think in black and white (Q32). The answers ranged from a noticeable black-and-white tendency (IF 1, 2, 12, IH11), through thinking in grey in as much as rules are bent and favoritism exists (IF3, 6, 8, 13, IH4, 6, 8), to having a way of thinking which is then hidden toward the public (IH5). The average for this item was 3.59 with a mode of 4.

As to how Hungarians relate to the unknown (Q33), respondent replied that they usually do not like it (IF2), even though they are fairly used to it as a result of their history (IF1). Another one said they or think it is a nightmare (IF4), some shrug their shoulders (IF7), and some initially avoid it, and afterwards explore the possibilities (IF10). IH4 and IH9 expressed that it depends on the individual. IF14 mentions that doors are always locked in Hungary. While one respondent said

it is a generational attitude (IF9), another one claims that Hungarians are actually quite flexible (IF5). The majority of the Hungarian respondents also said Hungarians tend to have a negative feeling towards change, two specifically claimed that Hungarians approach the unknown with doubt (IH5), and with fear (IH7). The mean score for the item on the unknown was 3.67 with a mode of 4.

The attitude to change (Q34) had a similar representation as the attitude to the unknown. Only one respondent said Hungarians accept change (IF5), the others all expressed the view that Hungarians are against it (IH7), have reservations about it (IH14), try to avoid it (IF10), are pessimistic about it (IH1), take it hard (IH12), or have an attitude of 'kicking and screaming' about it (IF8). Younger generations, however, tend to handle it in a relaxed way (IF2, IF14). The mean score for this item on attitude to change was at 3.79 with a mode of 4. The overall result for the dimensions of uncertainty avoidance was 3.69 with a mode of 4.

The final dimension on the interview schedule was that of time. Two questions addressed it, the first being on whether Hungarians generally keep deadlines (Q35), and the second on whether Hungarians are good at multitasking or not (Q36). This issue was one that almost all foreigners brought up concerning Hungarians, even before the specific question. Students generally come to class late, and they always come up with some excuse for not handing in home assignments in time and they are actually hoping to get an extension (IF14, IF8). Even government offices do not keep deadlines relevant to their operations (IF11). Furthermore, not even self-generated deadlines work (IF3). One foreigner explained his frustration over the issue in the excerpt below (note: the interviewer's remark in the middle is quite characteristic as well):

> *IF1: I don't think they have a relationship. It's something that I get very lost in Hungary. Within this university we are constantly bombarded with stuff that has to be done and has to be signed, has to be sent back, has to be filled in, whatever…*
> *Interviewer: …possibly yesterday…*
> *IF1: at the very date at least… and Hungarians are very good at knowing when that's real and I'm not. That's something I find very difficult to handle. (IF1)*

Despite the overwhelming and almost vehement opinion of the foreigners that deadlines for Hungarians are "a joke" (IF4), seven respondents claimed that Hungarians were not that bad at keeping deadlines (IF2, IH1-5, 11). The average score for this item then was calculated at a mean of 3.5 with a mode of 4.

The other item concerning the dimension of time was whether Hungarians are good at multitasking or not (Q36) to see if their time conception was sequential or parallel (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998). Results on this question had the most answers referring to individual differences and the impossibility of generalizing (IF7, IF10, IH8, 11), some emphasized that there is gender difference claiming that women are per se better at multitasking than men (IF4), or that

it is generation based as well young people being at it than older ones (IF9, 4, IH3, 5). Several interviewees said that multitasking is not a natural form of activity and that generally in the world people prefer to do one thing at a time (IF8, 11, 13). Nonetheless, concerning Hungarians it was mentioned that they must be good at multitasking since they often have multiple jobs or pursue several forms of entertainment at the same time (IF1, 3, IH14) but others claimed that Hungarians do not change jobs easily, so they must prefer to do one thing at a time (IF2, IH11.13). The average score for this item was a mean of 3.08 with a mode of 4.

The final item in the interview schedule aimed at providing the opportunity to discuss any other feature characteristic of Hungarians that might not have been touched upon earlier during the interview (Q37). The information then was used to calibrate the answers given to the questions on the specific dimensions. Answers to question 37 included issues in the realm of:

PDI: post office stories (IF1, IF8, IF9, IF3); who is in charge to manage the donation of computers (IF8); professors are less easily accessible in Hungary, no lunch together with professors in HU (IH6);

COLL: it would be unheard of in Britain for a student to choose a university or college in their own city, as the precise aim of going into higher education is to grow up and become independent (IF9); family and human relationships are much more important for Hungarians (IF5);

IDV: fragmented, not grown up enough (IF1); you get accepted into the in-group in Japan than in Hungary, or Austria (IH12);

MAS: women control relationships, men control workplace (IF4);

DIFF: Hungarians are not easy to make contact with, relationships are less superficial than in Australia, mixing pupils in grades, acceptance of others, volunteer work (IH3); Americans more superficial (Hungarian less superficial), Hungarian stick together abroad (IH12);

HC: no wish to travel abroad and live there (IF10); Hungarians do not communicate what is good, only what is bad as opposed to foreigners (IH11); roots are important: field-dependent, surroundings are important, not independent of them in self-representation (IH2); the lack of proper communication and delegation of tasks from leader (IF8); Hungarians are more direct, not as polite as expected by Japanese individual (IF6), or the British (IF13); translation fails due to the nonverbal reactions of the Hungarian party (IH5);

PART: Hungarians are less reliable than Americans, less open; everybody tries to find a loophole (IH9);

AFF: the difference of body movement during interaction compared to the interviewee's country of origin (IF3); in-group vs. out-group - friendly after a while (IF12); Hungarians having fun a lot, we have good reputation (IH12);

OUTER: the 'hurray-optimism of Americans is disturbing, lack of self-confidence (IH14); pessimism (IF2); don't push hard enough to make change happen (IF12);

LTO: Hungarians have pride in two failed revolutions IF4;

UAI low: looser rules for children's behavior than in Germany (IH12); flexibility compared to other Europeans (IH10);

UAI high: Lack of confidence, live with parents longer than in UK (IH1); Lack of self-confidence, foreigners must know more then Hungarians do (IH11); foreigners felt as looking down on Hungarians, having a colonial mentality; and do not try to

mingle with Hungarians (IH4); subjective well-being not as lightly taken as foreigners (IH11).

The above results on the 12 dimensions investigated in this round of interviews are shown below in Table 48, where the means and the modes are indicated separately for the foreigners and the Hungarians. In addition, the item means and modes combined from the separate Hungarian and foreigner replies (total) are shown. On the other hand, Table 49 below includes the means and the modes combined for each dimension from the item scores.

Relation to	Oneself and others								Context and circumstances																Time	
	HIERARCHY		IDENTITY	GENDER		PRIVACY	STATUS		CONTEXT		RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS			EMOTIONS	NATURE & MOTIVATION		VIRTUE					TRUTH/ ANXIETY				TIME	
MEAN foreigner	3.79	3.54	2.50	3.43	3.50	2.57	3.14	3.07	3.62	3.67	3.93	4.00	3.86	3.85	3.64	3.71	3.14	2.38	2.21	3.64	3.86	3.64	3.79	3.46	3.62	3.71	3.86	3.00
MODE foreigner	4	4	2	4	4	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
MEAN HU	3.86	3.21	3.07	3.71	3.50	3.21	2.75	2.79	3.85	3.64	3.71	3.36	3.86	3.85	3.71	3.79	3.17	2.71	2.79	3.21	4.00	3.36	3.64	3.71	3.71	3.86	3.14	3.17
MODE HU	4	3	3	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Total MEAN	3.82	3.37	2.79	3.57	3.50	2.89	2.96	2.93	3.73	3.65	3.82	3.68	3.86	3.85	3.68	3.75	3.15	2.56	2.50	3.43	3.93	3.50	3.71	3.59	3.67	3.79	3.50	3.08
Total MODE	4	4	3	4	4	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Table 48. Item means and modes for foreigners, Hungarians, and combined.

Relation to	Oneself and others					Context and circumstances						Time
	HIERARCHY	IDENTITY	GENDER	PRIVACY	STATUS	CONTEXT	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS	EMOTIONS	NATURE & MOTIVATION	VIRTUE	TRUTH/ ANXIETY	TIME
dimension mean (total: HU and F)	3.6	2.79	3.54	2.89	2.95	3.69	3.79	3.85	3.71	3.18	3.69	3.29
dimension mode (total: HU and F)	4	3	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Table 49. Dimension mean and mode for HU and foreigner combined.

When the item means are combined into the dimension mean, the results obviously show a softer tendency of the dimension than the separate scores. This is the result of the way a mean value is calculated. In order to provide a fuller picture of the value orientation tendencies, the modes are always shown as well. As the mode is calculated as the most frequently given answer, it sheds light on the underlying dimension orientation behind the answers of the participants.

The results of the interviews may be represented in a polar diagram similarly to the results of the literature review (p. 149). The means and modes of the dimensions investigated in the interviews produce the illustrative picture below in Figure 5:

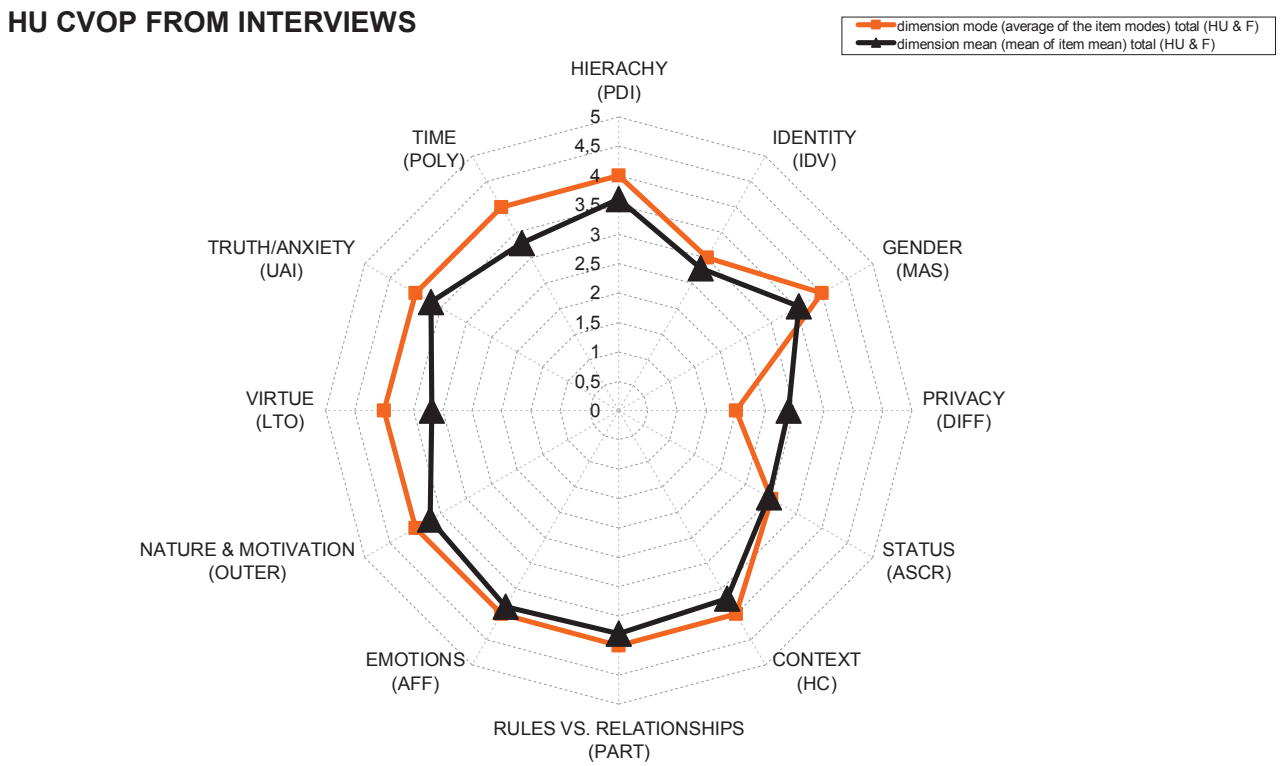

Figure 5. Polar diagram of interview dimension means and modes (total).

The above polar coordinate diagram is formed with the 12 dimensions established from the literature forming the 12 axes. The total mean of the individual foreigner and Hungarian replies on each dimension is shown in black. As with the literature review results, the values on each axis are connected to indicate that the dimensions are not entirely independent from one another. The present figure chooses not to emphasize the nature of the connection. It rather aims to provide a starting point for teaching purposes combining the different profiles of the Hungarian cultural value orientation from various sources of data. The data forming the orange line shows the total mode of the individual replies of foreigners and Hungarians participating in the interviews. The orange shape is the Hungarian mode profile, which shifts the mean profile more towards long-term orientation, uncertainty avoidance, and high power distance. Mostly however,

it provides information on the dimensions of emotions, context and status, ones that were under-researched in the literature review CVOP. For the importance of including the mode beside the mean in establishing the CVOP, see section 3.1.4 on p. 100.

To sum it up, the interviews recorded for this investigation with 14 foreigners working with Hungarians on a regular basis and 14 Hungarians working with foreigners on a regular basis yielded the result that the CVOP of Hungary (research question 4), first of all, tends toward a fairly high power distance structure, which is represented by the references to teacher-student relationships, and the existence and use of the difference between formal and informal forms in the language. Secondly, a slight tendency towards collectivism was detected in the phenomenon of the distinction between in-group and out-group membership. In addition, the institution of classes in schools seems to root in favoring the interest of the group as opposed to the individual. Thirdly, masculinity is also seen as valued more in the Hungarian culture in the form of the tendency for competition, but the existence of the blurring of the division of traditional roles in society softens this picture with slight femininity.

Furthermore, the data suggest that Hungarians are seen as rather specific by foreigners concerning their ideas about where the private self ends and the public self begins (mode 2). Hungarians on the other hand see themselves as not distinguishing too much between the spheres of life (mode 4), and are often found mixing them, to a certain extent at least.

In addition, the interviews brought light on evidence that reflects a slight tendency for ascription, but achievement is almost as valued as ascribed status. The dichotomy of the importance of high achievement and the phenomenon of filling positions based not purely on professional merit is responsible for this result. Then, high context features such as not explaining ongoing situations to outsiders, or assuming instead of asking or giving clear instructions were reported for Hungarian culture. The family-and-friends code also seems to be stronger than any other obligation. What is more, adhering to an imposition does not correlate with whether the rule is self-imposed, or it is an outer obligation. In-group members simply come first, which is reported as a characteristic of particularist – and also collective – cultures.

Besides, Hungarians were reported as showing relatively strong feelings, though mostly negative ones, such as sadness and despair, but displaying emotions is accepted even by men in certain cases. Furthermore, behavior towards children is markedly more emotional, and children are not required to reign in their display of emotions significantly, especially not at an early age. Therefore, the overall tendency for Hungarians on the dimension of emotion tips the scale towards AFF.

Concerning nature and motivation Hungarians were reported to tend towards outer-orientation, which was also signaled by the display of a fair amount of despair. Apparently,

Hungarians feel they do not have the opportunity to take the lead in the course of their lives and destiny, and rather feel they are at the mercy of some outside power which they cannot influence. Resignation over the difficulties of life was an ever-recurring theme in the interviews, and even the foreigners attributed most of the cultural differences in behavior to economic and historical reasons.

The dimension of virtue was also closely connected to the financial situation of the country. The sub-questions targeting long-term orientation revealed and overall long-term orientation (mode 4), even though replies many times included references to short-term orientation for the simple reason of tomorrow being completely unpredictable due to the ever worsening economic situation that families found themselves in. It was reported that Hungarians tend to rather spend their income as opposed to saving it, but it was always mentioned that they would not even have enough to save from. Making ends meet seems to be the number one priority, and with the future not holding long-term perspectives and the present ever-changing, planning ahead and saving have not been considered as valuable, let alone manageable. Yet there is a certain amount of risk-taking and curiosity signaled by the high number of famous inventors, as well as the fact that the personality is considered as a non-changing, fixed entity that cannot be split into smaller parts, but should be thought of as clear-cut as a monument. Finally, long-term orientation is further supported by the Hungarian hospitality which is famous among foreigners.

The uncertainty of financial prospects put a major strain on the Hungarian value system as there is an overall tendency for avoiding uncertainty in Hungarians in the interviews. Change and the unknown seem to be unfavorable events, even though the younger generation appears to have less problems accommodating than the older ones. Ideas are usually suspicious, as information seems to be considered as a commodity the exchange of which is managed by people outside the realm of everyday mortals. Therefore exploring the truth of ideas is not of essence to Hungarians because it might mean stepping on the toes of others, which is to be avoided as it can bring about a chain reaction that most of the time ends unfavorably for the enquirer. On the other hand, when one has an opinion it is very difficult to change it, as things are considered to be either black or white most of the time. Thus, when real life situations do not allow themselves to be compartmentalized into certain categories, fear of uncertainty leaps to the sky. This is believed to explain the high amount of lack of original thinking on the side of the students in teaching situations. Repeating back what the teacher has said is so much safer than venturing on the grounds of original, therefore unprecedented, and thus uncertain ideas. As a result, it is found hard by language teachers to motivate their students to formulate their own thoughts and opinions in class when in fact they have not learned to formulate them in their mother tongue in the first place.

Finally, concerning the dimension of time, the results yielded a picture of Hungarians being more polychronic than not, as they are not good at keeping deadlines, even though multitasking was mostly reported by respondents as having a gender based difference. Generally speaking women are thought to be better at multitasking due to the skills they develop as a result of child raising experience. In addition, their role as mothers in a fairly masculine society burdens them more, so they need to learn to balance their family and professional life in a more successful way, which requires skills at multitasking. On the other hand, it was also mentioned by respondents that the gender-based differences in multitasking are not specifically Hungarian phenomenon, rather a world-wide tendency.

As to the question of what kind of intercultural misunderstandings occur when Hungarians and foreigners work together on a regular basis in Hungary or abroad (research question 4.1), the results included both linguistic misunderstandings as well as non-verbal behavioral problems. Specific gestures were mentioned together with the general tendency of how hand signals or hugging and kissing practices may cause difficulties in intercultural situations. The solution to these conflicts was reported to be the need to change the frame of reference, the need to step back emotionally, analyze the situation first, and react only afterwards. The cultural differences that need to be observed for Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language when working with foreigners on a regular basis (research question 4.2) should be the areas of non-verbal behavior, specifically of gestures, but also linguistic expressions need to be paid attention to. For example, the differences in the level of power distance in situations where professors and students might find themselves in the USA will be inherently different than the ones that may occur in Hungary. Therefore, Hungarian students need to be aware of the power distance characteristics of their own culture, so that they can recognize in an intercultural encounter that a situation which has a different power distance pattern is arising and they can react accordingly.

Based on the interviews, it can be stated that the cultural dimensions that lie beneath the misunderstandings and problems between Hungarians and foreigners working together on a regular basis (research question 4.3) are the dimensions of hierarchy (PDI), identity (COLL), context dependence (HC), nature and motivation (OUTER), privacy (DIFF), emotions (AFF), uncertainty avoidance (UAI), time (POLY), rules versus relationships (PART), and virtue (LTO). To prepare Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language to adjust to the misunderstandings that might occur in their communication with foreigners (research question 4.4) they must undergo training that targets raising awareness in these areas of cultural differences.

5 Discussion: establishing the composite profile

Three different types of studies were conducted in order to provide a trustworthy picture on the cultural value orientation of Hungary. Firstly, according to the international and Hungarian CVOS literature, Hungary has a stronger than medium PDI, a stronger than medium tendency for IDV, a weaker than medium tendency for MAS, a medium tendency for DIFF, a weak achievement tendency on the relation to status, a tendency towards low context communication (LC) and particularism (PART), and a neutral tendency to the display of emotions (NEUT). Furthermore, Hungarians seem to show outer directedness (OUTER), medium LTO, high UAI, and high POLY.

Secondly, the CVOP that emerged from the CV and ML tasks showed that the discourse context of the job application process seems to be a favor seeking situation in the eyes of Hungarians, where the dimensions of PDI, COLL, some IDV, and HC are characteristically traceable in some form or other in the texts. In addition, the representation of the self shows a holistic approach as it was already suggested in the pilot study (Furka, 2008). This latter result implies a long-term orientation tendency based on Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) and Minkov (2007) who claim that monumentalist cultures (the equivalent of long-term orientation in the Hofstede-paradigm) consider the self as an entity difficult to change or divide into parts. Finally, reader-responsibility, a characteristic writing style of certain cultures described by Hinds (1987) was also detectable.

Thirdly, the interviews with the 14 foreigners and 14 Hungarians provided a picture of Hungarians that is fairly high on PDI, slightly towards COLL, and fairly towards MAS. Hungarians are also rather specific (SPEC), medium on ASCR, but opposed to the literature review profile, they tend towards HC. In addition, they are fairly PART, strongly AFF, fairly OUTER oriented, and slightly LTO. Finally, on the dimensions of anxiety, they tend towards UAI and slightly towards POLY.

After analyzing the three different types of data sources for triangulation purposes, it was possible to merge the three CVOPs into one composite profile, although some adjustments were needed. Although the results of the rhetorical and cultural analysis did not yield a mean for the letters as it was the case for the literature review analysis, it can still be argued that the overall cultural value orientation reflected in the MLs suggests a tendency for high power distance, strong collectivism, weak individualism and high context dependence. Therefore, a mode of 5 was allocated to the ML corpus on hierarchy, a mode of 2 for identity, and a mode of 5 for context dependence (see the end of section 4.2.5). These results, however, cannot be represented in a polar diagram. Therefore, the mean composite CVOP for Hungary is based only on the literature review and the interviews, which is shown in Table 50 below.

	HIERARCHY (PDI HIGH)	IDENTITY (IDV)	GENDER (MAS)	PRIVACY (DIFF)	STATUS (ASCR)	CONTEXT (HC)	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS	EMOTIONS (AFFECT)	NATURE & MOTIVATION (OUTER)	VIRTUE (LTO)	TRUTH/ANXIETY	TIME (POLY)
Literature review mean	3.20	3.39	3.13	2.75	2.00	2.33	3.57	2.67	4.00	2.86	3.53	5.00
MLs	As the results relate to only three dimensions, those were not included in the calculation of the mean of the studies.											
Interview mean	3.6	2.79	3.54	2.89	2.95	3.69	3.79	3.85	3.71	3.18	3.69	3.29
Composite mean	**3.40**	**3.09**	**3.34**	**2.82**	**2.48**	**3.01**	**3.68**	**3.26**	**3.89**	**3.02**	**3.61**	**4.15**

Table 50. Literature review and interview CVOP combined into the composite Hungarian CVOP.
Abbreviations**:** PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, MAS: masculine, DIFF: diffuse, ASCR: ascribed, HC: high context, PART: particularism, AFFECT: affections, OUTER: outer motivation, LTO: long-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, POLY: polychronic time conception.

The comparison of the means of the literature review and the interviews shows that, on the whole, there is mostly agreement of the results on the dimensions of privacy (0.13 difference), on rules vs. relationships (0.22 difference), nature and motivation (0.29 difference), and truth/anxiety (0.16 difference) between the scores only. Power distance and gender have almost identical differences between them (0.4 and 0.41), and virtue has 0.32. The remaining dimensions show a score difference larger than 0.5. For example, identity has a difference of 0.6 and status 0.95. The largest difference between the literature review and the interview scores are found on the dimensions of emotions (1.18), context (1.36) and time 1.71. These numerical data are, then, possible to show in a polar coordinate diagram for the sake of easier understanding as seen below.

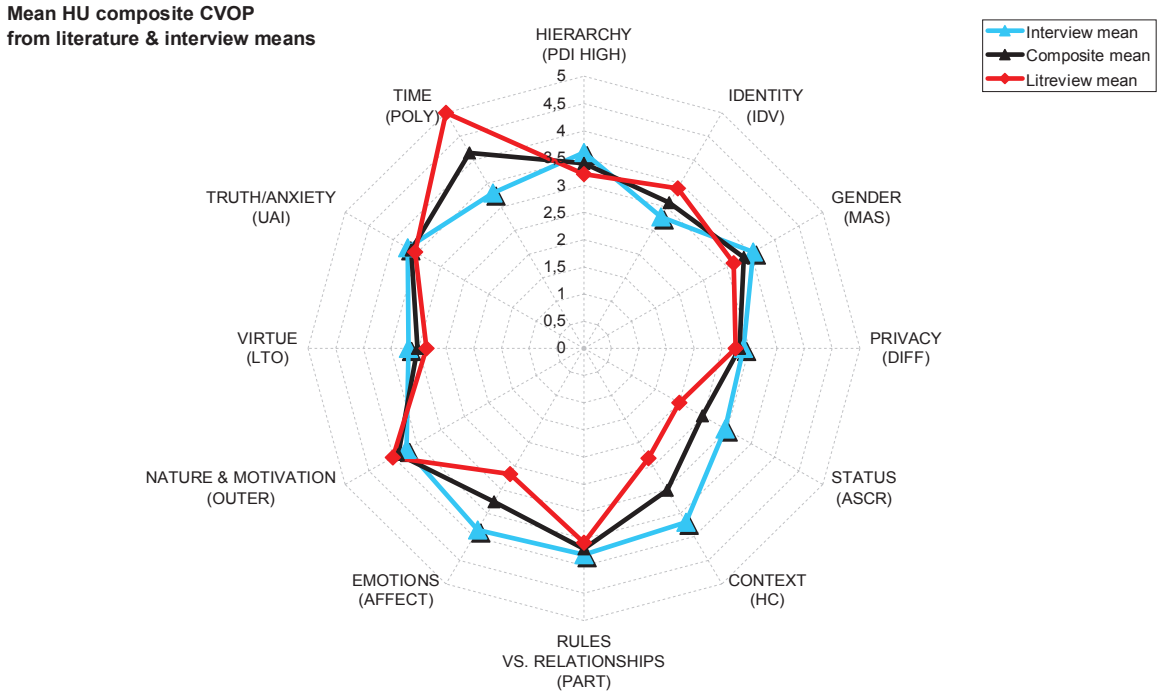

Figure 6. Hungarian CVOPs from literature review, interviews and the final composite mean profile.

When, however, the modes of the three studies are compared, the ML corpus results may be included, as the modes represent the underlying tendencies in the values. This is exactly what the ML dimension scores express shown in Table 51 below.

	HIERARCHY (PDI HIGH)	IDENTITY (IDV)	GENDER (MAS)	PRIVACY (DIFF)	STATUS (ASCR)	CONTEXT (HC)	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS (PART)	EMOTIONS (AFFECT)	NATURE & MOTIVATION (OUTER)	VIRTUE (LTO)	TRUTH/ANXIETY (UAI)	TIME (POLY)
Literature review mode	5	4	2	3	2	2.33	4	2.67	4	4	5	5
MLs	5	2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Interview modes	4	3	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Composite mode (mean of modes)	**5**	**3**	**3**	**2.5**	**2.5**	**3.78**	**4**	**3.34**	**4**	**4**	**4.5**	**4.5**

Table 51. Literature review, ML analysis and interview modes forming the Hungarian composite mode CVOP.
Abbreviations**:** PDI: power distance index, IDV: individualism, MAS: masculine, DIFF: diffuse, ASCR: ascribed, HC: high context, PART: particularism, AFFECT: affections, OUTER: outer motivation, LTO: long-term orientation, UAI: uncertainty avoidance index, POLY: polychronic time conception, n.d.: no data.

As in the case of the literature review CVOP the modes for the dimensions of status, context and emotions were not possible to calculate according to protocol due to lack of sufficient data, so the mean scores were employed instead of them. For the composite mode CVOP it is also true that only the means of dimension modes are possible to calculate, and not exact modes, i.e. not the most frequently occurring score. The composite mode CVOP thus pictures Hungarian value orientation as having a tendency for high power distance, medium tendency towards individualism, medium tendency towards masculine social values, a weaker than medium tendency for the splitting of private and public spheres of life, and a weaker than medium tendency on the dimension of status which means a tendency towards favoring achievement. Furthermore, the sample is characterized by a stronger than medium tendency towards context dependence, fairly high preference of relationships over rules, a bit stronger than medium tendency for showing emotions, a fairly strong belief in being controlled by outer influences, and a fairly strong long-term orientation. Finally, a clear tendency for uncertainty avoidance and polychronic orientation is reflected in the data. The modes are illustrated in a polar coordinate diagram below in Figure 7.

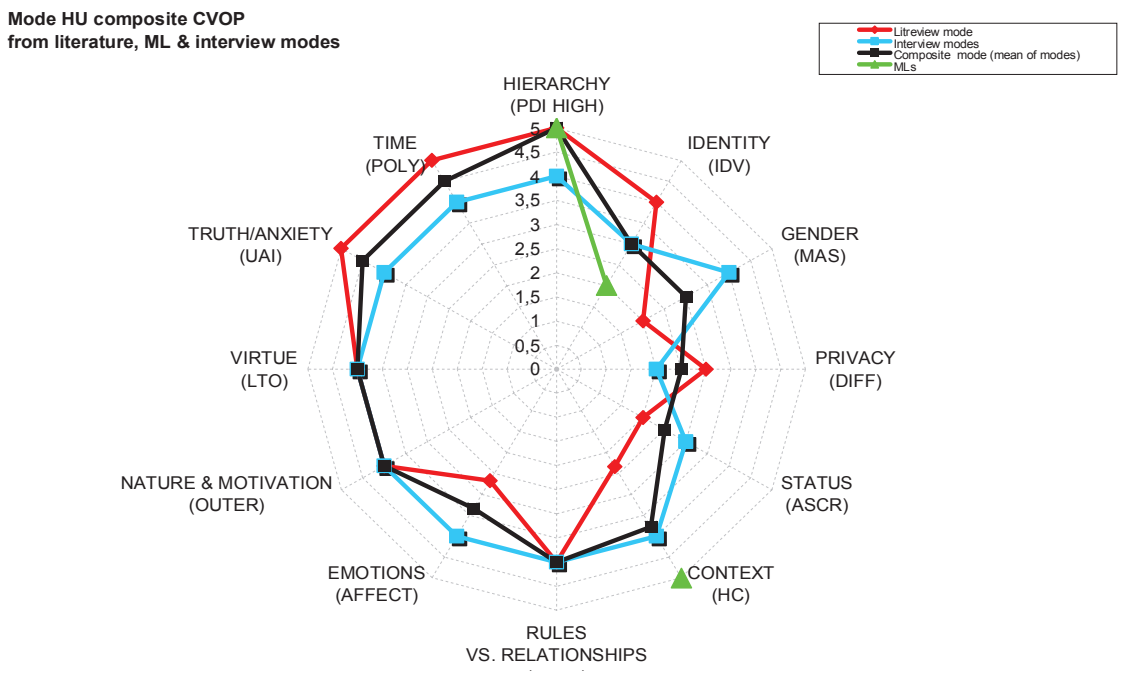

Figure 7. The literature review, the ML corpus and the interview modes together with the composite mode CVOP.

Thus, the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary (research question 5) may be established from the data of the literature review, the curricula vitae and motivational letters, and the interviews, as shown in Table 52 below.

	HIERARCHY (PDI HIGH)	IDENTITY (IDV)	GENDER (MAS)	PRIVACY (DIFF)	STATUS (ASCR)	CONTEXT (HC)	RULES VS. RELATIONSHIPS (PART)	EMOTIONS (AFFECT)	NATURE & MOTIVATION (OUTER)	VIRTUE (LTO)	TRUTH/ANXIETY (UAI)	TIME (POLY)
composite mean	3.40	3.09	3.34	2.82	2.48	3.01	3.68	3.26	3.89	3.02	3.61	4.15
composite mode	5	3	3	2.5	2.5	3.78	4	3.34	4	4	4.5	4.5

Table 52. The composite mean and mode of the literature review, the ML corpus and the interview analysis.

The composite profile shows Hungary as having a stronger than medium PDI (3.4) with a mode of 5 that further strengthens this tendency. Though high individualism scores were reported for Hungary (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010), the fairly strong COLL nature of the ML corpus and the 'collective cheating' type of anecdotes in the interviews suggests that Hungarians tend only a tiny bit towards IDV (3.09, mode: 3). On the gender dimension even though the interviews reported a slight feminine tendency in as much as gender roles are not strictly kept, the tip of the scale still leans towards MAS (cf. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). However, the mode balances it out to a medium tendency. This might be the result of the recently more frequently reported phenomenon of blending gender roles in Hungary despite the anecdotes in the interviews on a strong competitiveness in the society. It may also be true that Hofstede's sample

included mostly white, highly educated, middle managers form the world of business, where competitiveness might be taken for granted and frequent. Concerning privacy, the composite mode of 2.5 strengthens the composite mean of 2.85 towards the specific end of the dimension. Thus Hungarian values seem to prefer to separate public and private life a bit. Context, the dimension with the least amount of data in the literature came out with a strong medium score of 3.01 and a mode tending towards high context features. This was the result of the ML corpus exhibiting a strong preference for indirect structures and politeness strategies. On the question whether rules should be observed or relationships should be maintained over keeping rules, Hungarian values clearly focus on maintaining relationships even if it means breaking rules or neglecting their duties. With emotions the case is the same as with context, that is, as there is little research, the results remain in the medium range between the two ends of the dimension even though the interviews reported a clear tendency for accepting and expecting the display of emotions in Hungarian social and professional life. One of the strongest tendencies was on nature and motivation with a mean score of 3.89 and a mode of 4. It is possible the mode could be a very strong tendency for outer orientation (5), had the analysis of the interviews allowed to allocate mark '5' for an extreme representation of the dimension end. As however, it was decided to rule mark '5' out from the numerical scale of the interview analysis to avoid the over-evaluation of single situations, only a 'fairly high' tendency label could be given to a tendency which felt stronger based on the interview content. The constant reference to how difficult life is in Hungary both by foreigners and Hungarians, and the number one reason for many reactions or values of Hungarians being the simple wish to survive is not represented strongly enough in a mean score of 3.89 with a mode of 4. The dimension of virtue is a complex one; therefore, it comes as no surprise that a mean score of 3.02 would go together with a mode of 4 towards long-term orientation. This is mostly the result of the immense national pride referred to in the interviews, as well as the famous Hungarian hospitality belonging to the sub-value of serving others within the dimension of virtue. Finally, the dimensions of truth/anxiety and time leave no doubt as to which end of the pole Hungarians tend to with their constant complaining of how change is bad and how they prefer the 'good old days' where everything is known and safe, and with how difficult for foreigners it is to tolerate that Hungarians do not consider deadlines as something that should be adhered to. The composite mean and mode scores may be illustrated in the composite profile in Figure 8 below.

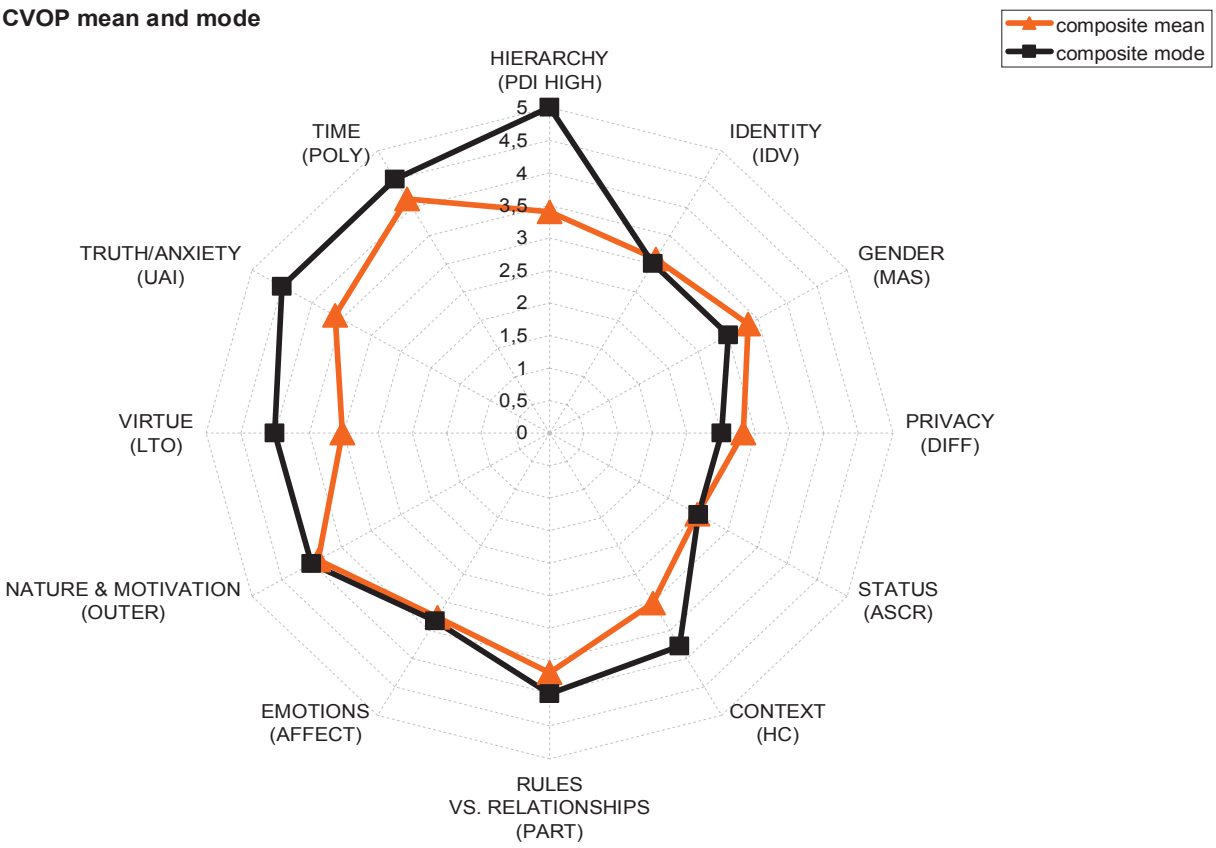

Figure 8. The Hungarian composite CVOP mean and mode.

After having established a CVOP for Hungary based on the literature review, the CV and ML corpus and the interviews, it is possible to identify those dimensions in the CVOP that lie beneath the cultural differences that Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language might encounter when communicating with foreigners in English (research question 5.1). For this however, the new Hungarian CVOP must be compared to other cultures. The obvious choice for learners of English is to compare the Hungarian CVOP to the UK and the USA. The comparison can be based on Hofstede's profiles for the three cultures, even though there are data on only five dimensions. In order to be able to compare the different results, they must be converted to the same common denominator. Following the conversion practices employed earlier, the Hofstedian results for the UK and the USA, together with the old scores for Hungary may be converted to a numerical scale of 1-5 instead of the 1-100 that Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) uses. The converted scores based on which the comparison is possible are shown in Table 53 below.

	HIERARCHY (PDI HIGH)	IDENTITY (IDV)	GENDER (MAS)	VIRTUE (LTO)	TRUTH/ANXIETY (UAI)
The USA	2.95	4.5	4	2.4	3.3
The UK	2.6	4.4	4.2	3.5	2.7
Hungary (Hofstede)	3.2	3.95	4.3	3.85	4
HU composite mean	3.4	3.09	3.34	3.02	3.61

Table 53. Comparison of dimension scores of the UK, the USA, and Hungary based on Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, (2010), and the new composite mean CVOP.

Concerning hierarchy, the difference has become stronger with the UK compared to the old Hungarian data based on Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) (difference of 1.2) and even the difference between the USA and Hungary has grown to a value of 0.45. This is more in line with what the interview respondents reported and what the MLs reflected. A too closely similar PDI characteristic between the cultures of the UK and the USA is also difficult to envisage due to the inherent linguistic differences of formal and informal language forms between Hungarian and English.

There is an even more marked difference between Hungary and the USA (1.41) on IDV. Compared to the UK, and even the old Hungarian results, the difference on gender is a score of 0.86, and 0.96 respectively. This was supported by the ML results and the anecdotes from the interviews. The idea of collective cheating in tests, or the overwhelmingly frontal manner of teaching and the forms system in schools makes it difficult to think of Hungarians as a highly individualistic as it was originally suggested by Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010).

There is a 0.62 difference in marks between the USA and the new Hungarian score on virtue, but even between the old and new Hungarian scores there is a difference of 0.82. This is well exemplified by the tendency of presenting the self in the MLs in a non-specific, all-inclusive way, which is characteristic of long-term orientation cultures (Minkov, 2007). Finally, there is a certain amount of softening on the uncertainty avoidance dimension in as much as Hungary occupies a less extreme position with the new profile. The difference between the UK and Hungary thus is 0.91, where as it has become only 0.31 with the USA. This might be explained by the fact that the original Hofstedian data is now supplemented by qualitative data which helps refine the profile in detail.

The above details may also be presented in a polar diagram below (Figure 9). All in all, it is possible to say that between the UK and Hungary the dimensions of hierarchy, gender, virtue and truth/anxiety are important aspects where cultural differences might occur. Compared to the USA, the Hungarians differ in their values on the dimensions of hierarchy mostly on identity, gender and to some extent on virtue.

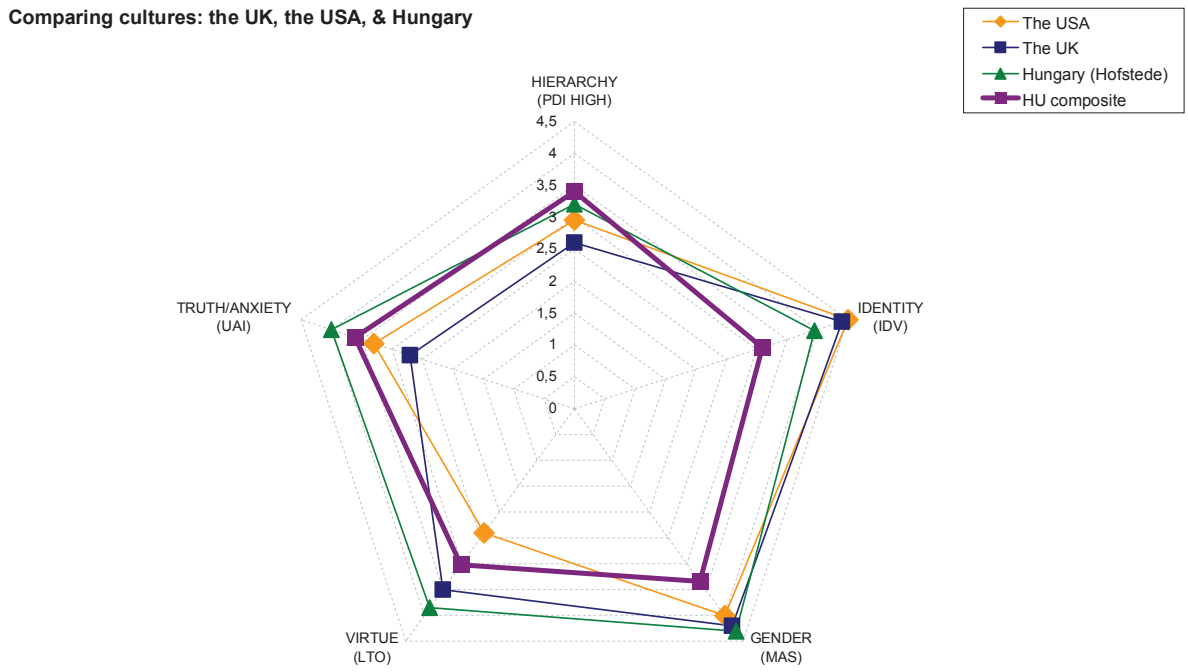

Figure 9. Comparison of the cultural dimension scores of the UK, the USA and Hungary (based on Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010), and the Hungarian composite profile established above.

On the other dimensions that are not part of the Hofstedian paradigm, it might be too farfetched to claim anything substantial. In order to do that, a similar composite profile would be needed for each culture that is chosen for comparison. Nonetheless, based on the interviews and the CV and ML corpus results, it seems plausible to say that the dimensions of hierarchy, identity, context dependence, rules vs. relationships, nature and motivation, virtue, truth/anxiety and time are the most influential ones.

Based on the composite cultural value orientation profile of Hungary, the possible points of cultural difficulties for Hungarians while learning English as a foreign language (research question 5.2) and while communicating in writing and orally with foreigners (research question 5.3) are:

- acquiring the different linguistic tools to highlight or soften power distance issues (low PDI) (results of ML corpus),
- the willingness to formulate own opinion and not want to blend in the crowd and present oneself in an objective light without glorifying oneself (IDV),
- being specific enough when that is what is expected (LC),
- accepting fast-changing expressions and the absence of hard-and-fast rules and the abundant variety of saying the same thing (low UAI),
- the linear way of structuring thoughts both in speech and in writing, e.g. the use of sequencing structures (MONO)
- and finally, learning to express oneself without leaving anything to the reader's imagination (writer-responsibility, LC).

To sum up, the three CVOPs established with the help of the 12-dimensional framework provided information that contributes to the cultural value orientation research of the Hungarian culture. It firstly corrects some of the tendencies on the dimensions of PDI, IDV that Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010 have been advocating, and the very little data available on the dimensions on status (Kovács, 2006; Minkov, 2007; Trompenaars, 1995), context dependence (Borgulya, 2006; Falkné, 2008; Csath, 2008), and emotions (Trompenaars, 1995; Falkné, 2008; Kovács, 2006). Secondly, it established Hungarian culture as a high context dependent one, preferring some power distance rather than equality, and being rather collectivist when in a competitive situation such as the job application process. Thirdly, it also offered an analytical tool that helps language learners and teaching experts to identify possible points of difficulties for Hungarian learners of English (or any other language, as a matter of fact), such as reader-responsible writing techniques and holistic self-representation.

6 Conclusion

The present doctoral dissertation reports an analysis of the existing literature on cultural value orientation studies, the collection and analysis of data in the form of more than 50 curricula vitae and 56 motivational letters written by Hungarian learners of English as a foreign language, and the conducting of 28 interviews with foreigners and Hungarians from the business world represented in Budapest. The aim of the dissertation was to see what kind of cultural value orientation profile of Hungary may be established for further use in foreign language learning and teaching. The results provide a cultural value orientation profile that may serve as a starting point for cultural differences education and a practical tool that makes cultural differences easily understandable.

First of all, it was found that CVOS may provide a basic theoretical background for identifying areas of cultural differences and misunderstandings for language learners and intercultural communicators. Secondly, after reviewing the literature, it was possible to identify 12 cultural dimensions that are most often used in the literature, and which can be fit into the three major aspects of life that are of interest for human kind in general, i.e. oneself and others, context and circumstances and time (Holló, 2008). It is in the answers given to these three aspects of human existence that cultures differ from one another along the 12 dimensions. Thirdly, with the help of scrupulous document analysis of the literature on Hungary, the freshly collected CV and ML corpus, and the interviews conducted to map Hungarian values surfacing most frequently in intercultural interactions, it was found that the CVOP for Hungary is one where Hungarians rather tend to accept the unequal distribution of power in the society, rather have a mild individualism tendency, a not too characteristic tendency towards masculinity, a mild preference for keeping the private and public life separate, a fairly strong tendency towards achievement and for high context dependence. In addition, Hungarians seem to strongly favor relationships over rules, accept the display of emotions, although they are mostly negative ones, strongly doubt there is opportunity for them to take control and change what is not good for them, and have a medium tendency for long-term orientation. Last but not least, they strongly try to avoid uncertainty, and have a polychronic attitude towards and cyclical view of time.

The establishment of the composite CVOP for Hungarian culture was made possible by implementing two primary qualitative studies besides the literature analysis. One of the main results of these includes the fact the interview CVOP contributed to the dimensional whereabouts of Hungary on emotion, status and context which were under-researched in the literature. The interviews fill this gap by providing data of explicit referrals to the cultural differences between Hungarians and other cultures in displaying emotions with Hungarians showing a tendency towards affect. In addition, the other under-researched dimension of status was also referred to in

the interviews in as much as it was reported, for example, how achievement in the forms of qualifications, better housing and cars are important for Hungarians with ascription being also of some importance when opportunities arise. Furthermore, the dimension of context was also reported on as one of the reasons for intercultural misunderstandings and conflicts.

In addition, the Hungarian CVOP sheds more light on how the cultural differences actual manifest themselves in real situations, for example, in the job application process. The CV and ML analysis yielded results that helped define the CVO characteristic of Hungary on the dimensions of hierarchy, identity, context dependence and virtue. The analysis provides linguistic evidence for the cultural value orientation of Hungarians being high relating to power distance in as much as the MLs show a favor-seeking trait (Held (1989) as cited in McCarthy and Carter, 1994); rather collectivist, as the letters apply negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987), self-glorification (Bhatia, 1993), and other-oriented facework mechanisms (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998); fairly high context, because their wording and content is not specific enough; and fairly long-term oriented, as their self-representation suggests a monument-like self-perception.

It was also found that although students did have explicit instruction on how CVs are expected be written nowadays, as opposed to how they used to be written according to the Hungarian tradition, this knowledge does not seem to surface in their performed tasks as a well-established skill. It seems that shifting to the new pattern of thinking and structuring in writing CVs and MLs has not reached deep enough yet. Similar tendencies were found also in Russia (Bowen, Sapp and Sargsyan, 2006), and the above cultural results are in line with the research of Falkné (2000) as well.

6.1 The relevance of the study on language pedagogy and intercultural communication

The relevance of the dissertation lies in the fact that it intends to open a discussion in the research community about the importance of cultural value orientations in foreign language education. With the accumulated data of 28 interviews and more than50 curricula vitae and motivational letters, correlated and triangulated with the representative, valid and reliable data in the existing literature on CVOS, a solid database was established. The underlying belief is that if cultural differences between Hungary and other cultures are included in FLE, language teaching and intercultural communication training could be adapted to the Hungarian cultural characteristics, thus making cross cultural communication more effective.

The most important aspect of establishing such a CVOP of Hungary in FLE is that it explains certain phenomenon of FLE in the Hungarian context. For example, the widespread practice of frontal teaching (Lannert and Halász, 2003) is most likely the result of a high power

distance and collective society, the dimensions that the above analysis brought to light concerning Hungary. It is most probably due to these underlying social values that the communicative way of teaching a foreign language is often not as effective as it could be in Hungarian secondary education, as the preference for frontal teaching does not favor facilitating. High PDI (and UAI) cultures think teachers are the ultimate source of information (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010) and that may result in the extreme case of learners opening their exercise books and starting to write down a conversation when in fact the instruction said 'practice orally in pairs' (personal experience). In addition, high power distance seems to influence text production processes. The present corpus suggests that in a high power distance culture a job application situation, a competitive social interaction, is seen as a favor-seeking one as opposed to two equal participants trying to agree on something which is acceptable for both of them. This in turn seems to influence the choice of linguistic elements when expressing the message.

Long-term orientation, high context dependence and collectivism may also have an effect on text production. For instance, long-term orientation might be responsible for using holistic self-representation techniques. With long-term orientation, it appears to be hard for writers to focus on only certain aspects of their self, and they find it difficult to highlight only one angle of it, as it is the norm in the predominantly required Anglophone CV writing practices. On the other hand, collectivism seems to be the reason for the choice of certain self-representation as well as self-defending strategies over others.

Finally, a CVOP in FLE such as the suggested one makes it possible to present cultural differences in a polar coordinate diagram that makes the presentation of the intangible construct of culture manageable and digestible. This powerful visual tool simplifies the complex phenomenon of culture with small 'c' providing general guidelines to what differences might mean, almost as a 'how-to' manual to cultures. It not only provides the opportunity for clarifying cultural differences, but can also assist teachers in becoming effective mediators between the home culture of their students and the target culture of the language instructed. Furthermore, the aim of applying CVOS and CVOPs in foreign language teaching is to help the learner, that is, the future employee within an intercultural/international environment to be able to take part in the creation of the "negotiated culture" (Boyacigiller et al. 2002, p. 20) of the given organization/group/society/nation/culture. Being able to negotiate culture, that is, take part in the culture building process – if we accept that culture is a construct that is constantly recreated as part of groups/group dynamics/group formation process – then it is a skill that helps achieve Byram's intercultural speaker for the language learner.

A CVO-based analysis of cultural differences might be criticized by strengthening stereotypical thinking. Talking about cultural difference on a national level might lead to

prejudices about the discussed cultures. However, it is not possible to talk about the phenomenon without considering the 'average' Hungarian, American, or Japanese. It must be borne in mind that there are no average Hungarians, Americans or Japanese. The average is only a theoretical concept built up of thousands of real cases to make analysis and discussion possible. To avoid ethnocentric bias and stereotyping, the responsibility lies with the intercultural trainer or FLE teacher to make sure that prejudices do not take over the judgmental processes of the students in the future. Creating Hungary's CVOP is a means to create 'only' a basis for future training; the inaccuracy blamed on qualitative analysis will not hinder a training program from being successful and effective. What is more, the essence of intercultural training is not properly adhered to if stereotypes are allowed to control the students' behavior in later times. An effective intercultural training prepares learners for interacting in intercultural situations by controlling their gut reactions and avoiding the 'emotional hijacking' that usually takes place in conflict situations (Goleman, 1998). When these instinctive reactions can be controlled, avoiding prejudices should pose a challenge. What matters in the CVOP is the dominant cultural tendency which, though members of societies show variation in differing situations, is characteristic of their group. The CVOP can draw the attention to the differences in cultural value orientation of speakers of other languages, i.e. other groups, and can show how pervasive the nature of these differences can be and in what areas.

Focusing on the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of CV and ML writing in the EFL classroom raises cultural awareness through improving the basic job-hunting skills of the learners. Learning a foreign language is the best way of enhancing one's sensitivity to cultural differences (Byram, 1997). Though creating a second language identity takes time (Brown, 2000), the explicit teaching of cultural differences has proved to accelerate the process and prepare learners successfully for cultural clashes (Nemetz-Robinson, 1985). It not only decreases the chance for intercultural misunderstandings, but also alleviates the surprises of culture clash in as much as unfamiliar situations may be accepted and handled with more tolerance. The combination of raising cultural awareness and the improvement of CV and ML writing skills is assumed to increase the language learners overall marketability in the Hungarian job market.

6.2 Recommendations for using CVOS in language teaching for enhancing intercultural skills

The ideal way of achieving intercultural competence development would be the two-way training theory which claims that only those trainings solve intercultural problems in which both interlocutors learn about each other's culture, not only one about the other (Nemetz-Robinson, 1985). The element of reciprocity should not be neglected. Foreign or Second Language students

(FL and SL, respectively) should not only learn about target language (TL) values and imitate target culture (TC) behavior, but should also be clear on what background of value systems they come from and how these might be at play in an intercultural encounter. The first step in achieving this reciprocity of learning is finding out what the cultural features of the home country are.

Apart from the evidence that researchers and practitioners have realized the need for changing perspectives in foreign language teaching (Byram, 1997; Brown, 2000; Kramsch, 1993; Holló, 2008) and that business communication identifies intercultural communication as one of its corner stones, there seems to be a comparative lack of research and analysis in intercultural education within language pedagogy (Gibson et. al 2007) and language teacher education (Lázár, 2006; Lessard-Clouston, 1996; Coleman, 1997). Although Buckley (2000) makes recommendations, those are made with relevance to English as a Second Language setting. However, the importance of CVOS for language learners should not be neglected in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) environment either.

Firstly, CVOS can be used to describe cultural differences between the home culture (C1) and the target language culture (C2), making anecdotes and misunderstandings more comprehensible and stereotyping less dangerous. If it is known where a particular country stands on the cultural dimensions continua, the areas that might cause special problems for the learners can be assumed in advance. This can greatly help the development of second language identity without damaging the original identity of the learner, or without him/her refusing the target culture. Thus, CVOS contribute to achieving the status of the intercultural speaker.

Secondly, the differences in cultural characteristics can also inform language teachers and educational experts on what kind of culturally influenced learning and output characteristics might have to be attended to more carefully. CVOS can even explain general difficulties experienced by learners and teachers using materials that are culturally bound. With the help of CVOS a solution for altering training and instruction methods might be proposed, thus the cultural background of learning and teaching in general, and that of the taught language/culture material can be attended to more effectively.

Besides helping the language learner to handle the process of complex personal development better, CVOS can assist language education in an EFL setting from the point of view of the teachers as well. Being a foreign language teacher inherently comes with great responsibility in as much as teachers of languages inevitably pass on, to some extent even without conscious attempts, the values of the cultures whose language they are teaching (Utley, 2000). Thus, they perform the role of mediators between two cultures (Holló, 2008; Damen, 1987); Kramsch, 1998). They are the bridge that can help students (learn) to cross the gap and develop

techniques for survival in the world of intercultural communication. CVOS can play a great part in helping teachers live up to this responsibility of transmitting the values of C2 while pointing out the characteristics of C1 as well.

Finally, from an institutional perspective, CVOS are also relevant in FLE, and in TEFL in particular, because values lie at the heart of attitudes which, in turn, are one of the most basic elements of intercultural competence, without which the status of the intercultural speaker cannot be achieved (Byram 1997, as cited in Deardorff, 2006). Even though the acquisition of values and attitudes begins in early childhood, it has been proven that attitudes are capable of changing over time (Néto, 2006). Deardorff (2006) explains in her Process Model that the outcome of intercultural training shows a longitudinal development, for which FLE is an ideal setting as opposed to short intercultural in-company trainings. If the foundation of intercultural competence is solid – there is openness, curiosity and respect – the rest can be slowly but safely built upon these. Institutional foreign language education seems to provide an ideal opportunity in developing attitudes in the long-run.

Furthermore, the graphic representation of the cultural value orientation profiles could serve as useful visual tool in FLE. As the results of CVOS, they can be the connection point of CVOS and FLE practice. The cultural profiles of countries and nations can be employed in foreign language instruction with success, as – together with examples – they illustrate intangible and hard-to-detect differences, they make foreign language learners aware of their own culture, the differences and similarities with the target culture come to the surface easily. They help the learners to grasp what culture itself might be. By raising awareness, the profiles and their visual representations in diagrams "enable learners to enquire into the beliefs, values and cultural practices they embody" (Byram and Fleming, 1998, p. 9). Awareness in turn can help them towards the status of the 'intercultural speaker' (Byram and Fleming, 1998) who "has the capacity to discover and relate to new people from other contexts for which they have not been prepared directly" (Byram and Fleming, 1998, p. 9). The representation of the cultural profiles has a similar function to the teachers or trainers in that they make the learner "become independent of the teacher and the limits of what can be achieved in the classroom" (Byram and Fleming, 1998).

In brief, it is argued that cultural value orientation studies and the cultural profiles infuse language education with cultural awareness, knowledge and skills (Holló, 2008; Byram and Fleming, 1998) without which successful intercultural communication is not possible, or at least is made unbelievably difficult for the interlocutors. Making the participants aware of the existence of the fundamental differences between cultures – let alone how these differences manifest themselves in verbal and non-verbal behavior – will prepare them for handling most international and intercultural situations effectively. On the other hand, the lack of this preparation might mean

that they will reject their new homes or workplaces, or old workplaces with new owners, values and work style, and will not want to, or be able to, operate adequately[3] in the given culture/situation. It is the language teacher's responsibility to prepare these people for functioning successfully in the target culture – as it was clear from the attitude of the interviewees and their job hunting experiences – by teaching them a language in which to communicate, together with other skills reflecting in their verbal and non-verbal communication as well.

To help Hungarian learners of English overcome cultural differences it is recommended that they become intercultural speakers, i.e. they practice shifting their frame of reference (Byram, 1997). Shifting the frame of reference may create a second language identity (L2ID) faster and more effectively in the target culture because of the need for survival (Brown, 2000), but it will not be without its toll during the acculturation process (Schumann, 1982). It is suggested that by learning to shift the frame of reference in a risk free environment in EFL (English as a foreign language) as opposed to ESL (English as a second language) environment, L2ID may be developed consciously and less painfully. The composite CVOP for Hungary is believed to help lay emphasis on where Hungarian culture differs form others whereby L2ID development may be assisted more successfully. Teacher-training should focus more on L2ID development tasks, such as role plays and synthetic culture simulations (Hofstede, Pedersen and Hofstede, 2002) so that teachers may create and maintain the L2ID development process, and learners may get practice and experience the advantages of a new identity.

Secondly, practicing linguistic elements that are less PDI, COLL HC and LTO would also help shift the frame of reference. For instance, a teacher might choose to practice describing one's life with structures of adjectives and the verbs *be* or *have*, and then switching to more dynamic verbs to express the same content might help teach the learners how to use self-appraisal instead of self-glorification in MLs. In addition, such change in the linguistic code of the message, i.e. concentrating on what one has done, and not on what one is like, could result in a more focused, and less holistic representation of the self, al of which would be more in line with the target culture in question.

To sum up, the pedagogical implications prescribe more explicit teaching of the linguistic elements and the cultural thought patterns behind them in CVs and MLs particularly, but also in other genres, both in Hungarian and in foreign languages. Such combination of raising cultural awareness and improving the CV and ML writing skills of the students should provide them with up-to date intercultural and job-hunting skills, thus raising their marketability in the job-market.

[3] Operating adequately is meant here in a suitable and acceptable way for both the individual and the society he/she is currently a member of.

6.3 Limitations and future research

As the data and their analysis presently available in the literature contain some contradictions, representative samples are needed. As for the national profiles, cross-cultural comparative studies require matched samples, and the same is true for organizational cultures. Whether data are taken from existing databases (WVS or ESS) which have already been established as valid over a longer period of time, or newly collected data is created and analyzed, the success of a cultural profile first and foremost lies in rigorous **longitudinal data collection** and data analysis methods. Expert statisticians and research methodologists are required to work in close cooperation, preferably in international projects with **combined (qualitative and quantitative) research design** (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) to obtain completely reliable profiles. A common framework combining the essentials of the research carried out so far by different scientists from different fields was needed to be established to bring further research efforts to a common platform instead of continuing to have a very interesting, but rather unpractical variety in the theory. This doctoral dissertation aimed at proposing a framework so that it can be further developed for universal use among CVO researchers. Finally concerning the future of the research, with the help of the established framework a cultural value orientation profile was set up for Hungary. This profile is a combination of all the existing data on Hungarian culture collected by various researches within the framework established in the dissertation. It is a composite profile that describes Hungarian culture with the assistance of numbers and graphs which may be freely expanded with further data and adjusted accordingly.

However, the figures themselves are meaningless unless cultures are compared to each other due to the non-absolutistic nature of value orientations (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2007). The aim of the CVOP is to show the way in the labyrinth of CVOS, the intangible part of culture. It is never valid in itself; it always needs to be compared to other countries' CVOP. It is the difference on the dimensions that matters, not the actual position of a culture on the dimensions (see Figure 9). Since it is the difference between cultures that matters, the key to the usefulness of the CVOP is the verbal description and explanation of the instances that it is based on. Finally, it should always be included in any kind of verbal description of national cultures that CVOPs do not predict behavior of the members of the given culture, and individuals might very well exhibit other value orientations than the 'average' member of that culture.

In conclusion, though there are many weak points in the studies used as the basis for this overview, for the time being it is safe to claim that the existing results form a well-established starting point for the cultural characteristics of countries examined in the literature. The main advantage of CVOPs is their ability to grasp a concept research has been struggling with to measure scientifically (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, 2010; Smith, 2006). CVOPs are much

like cultural dimensions: as Triandis (2002a) put it, cultural dimensions help us comprehend, conceptualize, and visualize culture and cultural diversity to an extent that makes it possible to think of, compare, as well as systematically probe the many-faceted phenomenon of culture.

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Appendices

Appendix 1a

Önéletrajz és motivációs levél kutatás

1. Feladat

Ön Kis Krisztina/Nagy Róbert (a megfelelő aláhúzandó). Az alábbi hirdetést egy Magyarországon megjelenő angol nyelvű újság tartalmazta, amire szívesen jelentkezik. Írja meg a jelentkezéshez szükséges angol nyelvű önéletrajzot és motivációs levelet.

Cabin Attendants - Budapest base

Location: **Budapest**

Job Code: **CAB10/2007**

Wizz Air is currently seeking friendly, service-oriented and flexible people who take pride in their performance and their appearance. As a Wizz Air cabin crew member you will have a busy and fun lifestyle. Because we are a friendly and fun-loving team, we celebrate many occasions like Christmas and company anniversaries at Wizz Air every year.

Requirements

- Aged 19 or over
- High school education degree
- Ability to swim
- Some face-to-face customer service and sales skills

The perfect candidate also:

- Possesses excellent communication skills
- Is flexible and willing to do shift working
- Is able to work under pressure
- Can easily work in a team
- An intermediate -level language exam (A, B or C) in one of the world languages is required by the Hungarian Civil Aviation Authority.

Note, that for security reasons you will be asked to provide reference contacts with names and up-to-date telephone numbers from your previous workplace or, if this is your first job, your school.

If you would like to join us, please send your English CV and a cover letter to the following address:

Wizz Air Hungary Légiközlekedési Kft.
Airport Business Park C2, Lőrinci út 59.
2220 Vecsés, Hungary

Appendix 1b

CV and motivational letter writing survey
(translation of the original task)

Task 1

You are Krisztina Kis/Róbert Nagy (underline relevant). You find the job advertisement below in an English newspaper published in Hungary and find it interesting. Apply for the position by writing your CV and a letter of application attached to it.

Cabin Attendants - Budapest base

Location: **Budapest**

Job Code: **CAB10/2007**

Wizz Air is currently seeking friendly, service-oriented and flexible people who take pride in their performance and their appearance. As a Wizz Air cabin crew member you will have a busy and fun lifestyle. Because we are a friendly and fun-loving team, we celebrate many occasions like Christmas and company anniversaries at Wizz Air every year.

Requirements

- Aged 19 or over
- High school education degree
- Ability to swim
- Some face-to-face customer service and sales skills

The perfect candidate also:

- Possesses excellent communication skills
- Is flexible and willing to do shift working
- Is able to work under pressure
- Can easily work in a team
- An intermediate -level language exam (A, B or C) in one of the world languages is required by the Hungarian Civil Aviation Authority.

Note, that for security reasons you will be asked to provide reference contacts with names and up-to-date telephone numbers from your previous workplace or, if this is your first job, your school.

If you would like to join us, please send your English CV and a cover letter to the following address:

Wizz Air Hungary Légiközlekedési Kft.
Airport Business Park C2, Lőrinci út 59.
2220 Vecsés, Hungary

Appendix 1c

Önéletrajz és motivációs levél kutatás

Kedves Résztvevő!

A korábbi feladat az ELTE Neveléstudományi Doktori Iskolájának Nyelvpedagógiai Programja keretében írandó disszertációm egyik részének adatbázisát fogja alkotni. Az elemzésemhez szükség van az alábbi kérdőív adataira. Kérem, olvassa el a kérdéseket figyelmesen és válaszoljon rájuk. Természetesen a kutatásban minden adatot valódi nevek nélkül fogok használni. Segítségét és türelmét ezúton is köszönöm.

Furka Ildikó
PhD hallgató/angol nyelvtanár

Önéletrajz és Motivációs Levél Kérdőív

I. SZEMÉLYES ADATOK:
(Ál)név:_____ Életkor: _____
Nem: _____ Hány éve tanul angolul? _____
Írt már valaha önéletrajzot? _____
Ha igen, mikor, milyen alkalomból? _____
Írt már valaha motivációs levelet?
Ha igen, mikor, milyen alkalomból? _____

II. ÖNÉLETRAJZ:
1. Tanult-e valaha arról, hogyan kell önéletrajzot írni **magyar nyelven**? Kérem, karikázza be a megfelelő választ!

igen nem

2. Ha igen, kérem, írja le mit tanult arról, hogyan kell önéletrajzot írni **magyar nyelven**!

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3. Tanult-e valaha arról, hogyan kell önéletrajzot írni **angol nyelven**? Kérem, karikázza be a megfelelő választ!

igen nem

4. Ha igen, kérem, írja le mit tanult arról, hogyan kell önéletrajzot írni **angol nyelven**!

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5. Tanult-e valaha arról, hogyan kell önéletrajzot írni **egyéb idegen nyelven**? Kérem, karikázza be a megfelelő választ!

igen nem

6. Ha igen, kérem, írja le melyik nyelven történt ez, és mit tanult arról, hogyan kell önéletrajzot írni **ezen a nyelven**!

_____
_____
_____
_____

III. MOTIVÁCIÓS LEVÉL:

7. Tanult-e valaha arról, hogyan kell motivációs levelet írni **magyar nyelven**? Kérem, karikázza be a megfelelő választ!

igen nem

8. Ha igen, kérem, írja le mit tanult arról, hogyan kell motivációs levelet írni **magyar nyelven**!

9. Tanult-e valaha arról, hogyan kell motivációs levelet írni **angol nyelven**? Kérem, karikázza be a megfelelő választ!

igen nem

10. Ha igen, kérem, írja le mit tanult arról, hogyan kell motivációs levelet írni **angol nyelven**!

11. Tanult-e valaha arról, hogyan kell motivációs levelet írni **egyéb idegen nyelven**? Kérem, karikázza be a megfelelő választ!

igen nem

12. Ha igen, kérem, írja le melyik nyelven történt ez, és mit tanult arról, hogyan kell motivációs levelet írni **ezen a nyelven**!

13. Okozott valami nehézséget a feladat megoldása során? Kérem, karikázza be a megfelelő választ!

igen nem

14. Mi okozott nehézséget a feladat megoldása folyamán?

15. Mi bizonyult könnyűnek a feladat megoldása folyamán?

Appendix 1d

CV and Motivational letter writing survey
(translation of the original questionnaire of Appendix 1c)

Dear Participant,

The previous task will form part of the data base for my dissertation that I am writing in the Language Pedagogy Program of the Doctoral School of Education at ELTE. For the analysis I require the following questionnaire data as well. Please, read the questions and answer them carefully. All data given will be used anonymously. Thank you for your cooperation.

Ildikó Furka
English language teacher

CV and Motivational letter writing Questionnaire

I. PERSONAL DATA:
Name:_____ Age: _____
Gender: _____ How long have you been learning English?_____
Have you ever written a CV? _____
If yes, when and for what reason? _____
Have you ever written a motivational letter? _____
If yes, when and for what reason? _____

II. CV:
1. Have you ever learnt how to write a CV **in Hungarian**? Please circle the appropriate answer.
yes no
2. If yes, please write down what you have learnt about writing a CV **in Hungarian**.
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3. Have you ever learnt how to write a CV **in English**? Please circle the appropriate answer.
yes no
4. If yes, please write down what you have learnt about writing a CV **in English**.
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5. Have you ever learnt how to write a CV in any other languages? Please circle the appropriate answer.
yes no
6. If yes, please write down which languages they are and what you have learnt about writing a CV in **these language(s).**
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

III. MOTIVATIONAL LETTER:

7. Have you ever learnt how to write a motivational letter **in Hungarian**? Please circle the appropriate answer.

yes no

8. If yes, please write down what you have learnt about writing a motivational letter **in Hungarian**.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

9. Have you ever learnt how to write a motivational letter **in English**? Please circle the appropriate answer.

yes no

10. If yes, please write down what you have learnt about writing a motivational letter **in English.**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

11. Have you ever learnt how to write a motivational letter **in any other language(s)**? Please circle the appropriate answer.

yes no

12. If yes, please write down what you have learnt about writing a motivational letter **in these language(s).**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

13. Was anything difficult for you during performing the task? Please circle the appropriate answer.

yes no

14. What was difficult for you during performing the task?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

15. What was easy about performing the task?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix 2a

Final instrument for interview with Hungarians

Item	Kérdés
Q1	Mondanál pár szót magadról és a szakmai tapasztalataidról? Milyen nyelven beszélsz és milyen szinten? Milyen tapasztalatod van más kultúrákból származó emberekkel való együttműködésben?
Q2	Mennyire gyakori a kapcsolatod külföldiekkel?
Q3 (Ha releváns)	A cég(ek) egyértelműen kerestek olyan készségeket benned a kiválasztás folyamata során, amelyek a külföldiekkel való együttműködéshez kellenek? Meg tudnád nevezni ezeket a készségeket?
Q4	Szerinted milyen értékek fontosak a magyaroknak a munkahelyen és általában?
Q5	Milyen problémás helyzeteket tudsz említeni, amely külföldiekhez kapcsolódik? Tudsz konkrét esetet említeni?
Q6	Milyen félreértések történtek, ha történtek egyáltalán, közted és külföldiek között? Tudsz példát említeni?
Q7	Szerinted elég, ha valaki jól beszéli a nyelvet, vagy egyébként is akadozhat a kommunikáció magyarok és külföldiek között? Tudsz példát említeni?
Q8	Tudnál konkrét esetet említeni a külföldiekkel való kommunikáció akadozására, ami egyértelműen NEM nyelvi, hanem kulturális eredetű volt?
Q9 (PDI)	Hogyan jelenik meg a társadalmi hierarchia a magyar kultúrában? Tudsz példát mondani?
Q10 (PDI)	A magyarok tegezik vagy magázzák egymást? Tudsz példát mondani erre?
Q11 (IDV)	Hogyan jelenik meg az egyén és a csoport viszonya a magyar kultúrában? Tudsz példát mondani erre?
Q12 (MAS)	Hogyan jelennek meg a nemi szerepek a magyar kultúrában? Tudsz példát mondani erre?
Q13 (MAS)	Hogyan jelenik meg a versenyszellem valamint az együttműködés, a támogatás és az általános jólét elérése/fenntartása a magyar kultúrában? Tudsz példát mondani erre?
Q14 (DIFF-SPEC)	Elkülönül a magánélet a munkahelyi, közösségi élettől a magyar kultúrában? Hogyan? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q15 (ACHIEV-ASCR)	Mivel lehet tiszteletet, megbecsülést kivívni Magyarországon? Mit kell tenni azért, hogy tiszteljék, értékeljék az embert? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q16 (ACHIEV-ASCR)	Melyik az elfogadott a magyar kultúrában: a teljesítménnyel kivívott státusz (a kemény munkának megvan a gyümölcse), vagy a tekintély alapú státusz (az számít, milyen családba születtél, kik a rokonaid, milyen háttered van)? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q17 (HIGH-CON)	Tudsz olyan konkrét esetről, amikor a magyaroknak a csapatban/csoportban/cégnél minden egyértelmű volt, de a külföldi nem értette a helyzetet és nem tudta, hogyan viselkedjen? Milyen gyakoriak a ki nem mondott szabályok Magyarországon?
Q18 (HIGH-CON)	A magyar kultúrában általában mindent rendesen elmagyaráznak, vagy gyakran kell feltételezni, kitalálni, ki mire gondol? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q19 (UNIV-PART)	Szerinted a magyarok a kapcsolatok építésére és fenntartására fektetnek nagyobb hangsúlyt, vagy a szabályok betartására? Úgy értem, egy magyar szerint melyik lenne a helyes: időben munkába érkezni, vagy segíteni egy családtagnak megoldani egy problémát még akkor is, ha emiatt késve érkezik a munkába? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q20 (UNIV-PART)	Hogyan viszonyulnak a magyarok a szabályokhoz? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q21 (UNIV-PART)	A magyarok mindenkire vonatkozó általános (elvont) etikai szabályok alapján döntik el, hogy mi a helyes és mi a helytelen, vagy kivételeznek? Hogyan döntik el, hogy melyik esetben melyik elvet használják? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q22 (NEUT-AFF)	Mennyire szabadon mutatják ki az érzéseiket a magyarok? Az adott helyzet befolyásolja azt, hogy mennyire mutatják ki az érzéseiket? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q23 (IN-OUT)	Szerinted a magyarok úgy gondolják, hogy irányíthatják és alakíthatják a környezetet, vagy inkább alázatosak, és elfogadják az életet (és a környezetet) úgy, ahogy van? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q24 (IN-OUT)	Szerinted a magyarokat saját motivációjuk, belső igényeik és vágyaik hajtják előre, vagy az olyan külső erők, mint az anyagi juttatások vagy a főnök utasításai? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q25 (LTO/UAI)	Mit értékelnek jobban a magyarok: ha valaki kockáztat, vagy ha ragaszkodik a hagyományokhoz és a megszokott kerékvágáshoz? Tudsz erre példát említeni?

Q26 (LTO)	Szerinted a magyarok a mának élnek és azonnali eredményeket akarnak felmutatni? Tudsz erre példát említeni? Például, megelégszenek azzal, ha az aktuális negyedévet sikerrel zárták le, vagy már előre gondolkodnak azon, hogy 5 év múlva hogyan lehet fenntartani a sikert?
Q27 (LTO)	A magyarok a spórolást vagy a költekezést részesítik előnyben? Szerinted miért? Tudsz erre példát említeni? Például, a 70-es években Amerikában volt a legkisebb a megtakarítások összege egyéni és állami szinten is a világon. Tapasztaltál ehhez hasonlót a magyar kultúrában?
Q28 (LTO)	Szerinted a magyarok a személyiséget állandónak hiszik, olyannak, ami nem változhat helyzetről helyzetre, és jó úgy, ahogy van? („Otthon és az iskolában is ugyanaz a személy vagyok” és „Mindig ugyanúgy viselkedem, bárkivel is vagyok”) vagy azt gondolják, hogy még ha van is hibájuk, azokat bizonyos tevékenységekkel fejleszteni lehet, és hajlamosak a céljuk elérése érdekében kompromisszumokat kötni? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q29 (LTO)	A magyarok büszkék magukra és a hazájukra? Tudsz arra példát említeni, amikor ilyet tapasztaltál?
Q30 (LTO)	Szerinted a magyarok segítőkészek és nagylelkűek? Mennyiben? Szükségét érzik annak, hogy jó benyomást kell tenniük másokra azért, hogy jobb színben lássák őket? Tudsz ilyen esetet említeni?
Q31 (UAI)	Hogyan állnak a magyarok az „Igazsághoz”? Szeretik saját maguk megvizsgálni a dolgokat vagy inkább a „közvéleményt” fogadják el? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q32 (UAI)	Szerinted a magyarok feketén-fehéren gondolkodnak? Azaz mindig VAGY-VAGY kell, hogy legyen valami, vagy lehet szürke is, azaz IS-IS? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q33 (UAI)	Hogyan kezelik a magyarok az „ismeretlent” és a „váratlant”? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q34 (UAI)	Hogyan kezelik a magyarok a változásokat? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q35 (POLY)	Hogyan viszonyulnak a magyarok a határidőkhöz és a pontossághoz? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q36 (POLY)	Hogyan boldogulnak a magyarok, ha egyszerre több dologra kell koncentrálniuk? Tudsz erre példát említeni?
Q37	Milyen egyéb különbséget látsz a magyarok és a külföldiek között? Ezen különbségek közül melyek tetszenek és melyekkel nehéz megbirkóznod?

Appendix 2b

Final instrument for interview with foreigners

Item	Question
Q1	Would you please say a few words about your personal and professional background? Which languages do you speak and on what level? What kind of experience do you have with dealing with people from different cultures?
Q2	How regular is your contact with Hungarians?
Q3 (If relevant)	Did the company/companies use explicit policies when selecting the staff to work with people from different cultural backgrounds? Can you name skills they were looking for?
Q4	What values do you think are important for Hungarians at work and generally in life?
Q5	What kind of problematic situations have you experienced that involved Hungarians? Can you remember a case?
Q6	What kind of misunderstandings, if any, do you encounter with Hungarians? Can you give an example?
Q7	Do you think it is enough to have good language skills, or is there communication breakdown between Hungarians and foreigners nevertheless? Can you remember a case?
Q8	Could you give an example from your interactions with Hungarians for a communication breakdown that was definitely NOT due to a language problem but a cultural difference?
Q9 (PDI)	How is social hierarchy represented in the Hungarian culture? Can you illustrate your opinion with an example?
Q10 (PDI)	Are Hungarians on friendly terms (formal-informal language use) with each other? Can you give an example?
Q11 (IDV)	How is the relationship of individuals versus the group represented in Hungarian culture? Can you give an example?
Q12 (MAS)	How are gender roles represented in Hungarian culture? Can you give an example?
Q13 (MAS)	How is the relationship of competition versus cooperation, support and general well-being represented in Hungarian culture? Can you give an example?
Q14 (DIFF-SPEC)	Is public and private life separated in Hungarian culture? How? Can you give an example?
Q15 (ACHIEV-ASCR)	What earns people respect in Hungary? What does one have to do in order to be respected, valued? Can you give an example?
Q16 (ACHIEV-ASCR)	Which is the norm in Hungarian culture: achieved status (hard work gains its reward), or ascribed/inherited/'born into' status (who you are, where you come from, who your relatives are)? Can you give an example?
Q17 (HIGH-CON)	Can you remember a case when something was evident to the Hungarians in your team/group/company but you did not understand the situation and did not know what to do? How frequently do you encounter such unwritten rules in Hungary?
Q18 (HIGH-CON)	In Hungarian culture do you find that things are usually explained properly or do you often have to guess or assume what is meant? Can you give examples?
Q19 (UNIV-PART)	Do you find that Hungarians focus more on maintaining relationships or on keeping rules? I.e. Which would a Hungarian colleague think is right: arriving at work on time or spending time to solve a family member's or friend's problem even if this means arriving late at work? Can you give an example?
Q20 (UNIV-PART)	What is the relationship of Hungarians to rules? How strictly do Hungarians observe rules? Can you give an example?
Q21 (UNIV-PART)	Do Hungarians decide what is right or wrong by standard (abstract) ethical rules that apply to everybody or do they make exceptions? How is it decided which method to apply in which case? Can you give an example?
Q22 (NEUT-AFF)	How freely do Hungarians show their emotions? How does the situation they are in affect the way Hungarians show their feelings? Can you give an example?
Q23 (IN-OUT)	Do Hungarians think they can dominate and form the environment or are they more submissive and accept life (and the environment) as it is? Can you give an example?
Q24 (IN-OUT)	Do you think Hungarians are more motivated by themselves, their inner needs and aspirations or by outer forces, like material benefits or the boss's orders? Can you give an example?

Q25 (LTO/UAI)	Do Hungarians value more if somebody takes risks or if they stick to tradition in their daily actions? Can you give an example?
Q26 (LTO)	Are Hungarians eager to live for the moment and want to show immediate results? Can you give an example? For example, are they rather happy about success in the present business quarter and worry about the results of 5 years from now only then…
Q27 (LTO)	Do Hungarians value saving money or spending it? Why do you think this is the case? Can you give an example? (For example, in the 1970's the US had one of the lowest amount of savings in the world and spending at an individual and government level was the trend. Have you experienced this in any form in Hungarian culture?)
Q28 (LTO)	Do Hungarians see the human self as inflexible, changing little across situations, and already good enough? ("I am the same person at home that I am at school" and "I act the same, no matter who I am with") Or do they think that even if their personalities have deficiencies at the moment, they can deal with them through self-improving activities, and are willing to compromise the methods to achieve their end goals? Can you give an example?
Q29 (LTO)	Are Hungarians proud of their country and themselves? Can you give an example when you experienced this?
Q30 (LTO)	Are Hungarians helpful and generous? How? Do they perceive a need to make a good impression to boost their public image? Can you think of a case that you experienced or heard of?
Q31 (UAI)	What is the attitude of Hungarians towards 'the Truth'? Do people like to explore issues for themselves or do they prefer to accept 'common views' about things? Can you give an example?
Q32 (UAI)	Do Hungarians think in terms of 'black and white', i.e. is it always 'OR-OR' for them, or are 'shades of colors', i.e. 'BOTH' also equally accepted? Can you give an example?
Q33 (UAI)	How do Hungarians manage 'the unknown' or 'the unexpected'? Can you give an example?
Q34 (UAI)	How do Hungarians handle change? Can you give an example?
Q35 (POLY)	What is the relationship of Hungarians to deadlines and punctuality? Can you give an example?
Q36 (POLY)	What is the relationship of Hungarians to multitasking? Can you give an example?
Q37	What important differences can you see between Hungarians and people from your culture or other cultures? Which of these differences do you find appealing and which ones are difficult to cope with?

Összefoglalás

A kulturális értékekre irányuló tanulmányok (Kluckhohn és Strodtbeck, 1961; Hofstede, 1980; Trompenaars és Hampden-Turner, 1998; Hall, 1973 és 1976; stb.) azt vizsgálják, hogy a különböző kultúrák hogyan értékelik az élet különböző aspektusait, és ezek az értékek hogyan eredményezik az elvárt magatartás különböző mintáit a társadalomban. A jelenlegi doktori értekezés középpontjában a kulturális értékekre irányuló tanulmányok és azok eredményei állnak abból a szemszögből, hogy milyen szerepük lehet a magyar idegennyelv-oktatásban. A disszertáció arra törekszik, hogy nyelvtanulóknak olyan kulturálisan terhelt helyzetek megoldásában nyújtson segítséget, ahol a magas nyelvi kompetencia ellenére sem mindig sikerül helyrehozni a kommunikációs csődöt. Ehhez egy magyar kulturális profilt indítványoz, amely egyrészt alapszik a kulturális értékorientációs tanulmányok elemzésén, másrészt angolul tanuló magyarok több mint 50 önéletrajzán és motivációs levelén, illetve 14 rendszeresen külföldiekkel dolgozó magyarokkal készült interjún és 14 rendszeresen magyarokkal dolgozó külföldiekkel készült interjún. Az eredmények azt mutatják, hogy a magyarok hajlamosak elfogadni a hatalom egyenlőtlen eloszlását a társadalomban, inkább szerényebb individualista tendenciával rendelkeznek, valamint nem túl erős maszkulin tendenciával, mérsékelt preferenciával a magán- és közélet elválasztása felé, és erős tendenciával a teljesítmény és a kontextus függőség irányába. Emellett, úgy tűnik, hogy a magyarok erősen preferálják kapcsolatok fontosságát a szabályok betartásával szemben, elfogadják az érzelmi megnyilvánulásokat, habár többnyire negatív érzelmeket mutatnak csak, és erősen kétségbe vonják, hogy van lehetőségük kezükbe venni az irányítást és megváltoztatni azt, ami nem jó nekik. Továbbá közepes tendenciával rendelkeznek a hosszú távú orientációt illetően. Végül még fontosabb, erősen próbálják elkerülni a bizonytalanságot, és az idő fogalmát ciklikusnak és többfunkciósnak tartják. E doktori kutatás azt javasolja, hogy a kultúrák között lehetséges félreértésekkel kapcsolatos tudatosságot egyrészt a kulturális profilok polár diagramban való ábrázolásának segítségével, másrészt az angol nyelvtanulók számára esetlegesen felmerülő interkulturális konfliktusok mögö9tt meghúzódó kulturális különbségeinek meghatározásával sikeresen lehet növelni. Ennek eredményeképpen angol nyelvtanárok beazonosíthatják azokat a módszereket, mellyel fenntarthatják, sőt fel is lendíthetik tanítványaik motivációját, kulturális szükségleteikhez igazítva az idegennyelv-oktatás módszertanát, mivel a jövő nyelvhasználóinak és az interkulturális beszélőknek túl kell lépniük kulturálisan kódolt tanulási és kommunikációs stílusukon. Az értekezés további kutatásokra vonatkozó javaslattétellel valamint pedagógiai követeztetésekkel zárul.

Kulcsszavak: kulturális értékorientációs kutatások, nyelvpedagógia, interkulturális beszélő, önéletrajz és motivációs levél műfaja, idegennyelv-oktatás módszertan